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TURN THE PAGE TO GET INSIDE . .



TIME

A Letter from the Publisher

Tacked to the wall of Associate Editor Burton Pines' office is an outsized map of the world, with each nation a distinct and striking hue. "Looking at a map like this one," says Pines.

who occasionally glanced at it while writing his second straight cover story on the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations, "helps you take account of geopolitical realities when discussing U.S. foreign policy.

Pines first appreciated the significance of the Middle East in 1956 when, at 16, he avidly followed the Suez Crisis. Eleven years later, after earning his B.A. and master's degrees in history at the University of Wisconsin, he found himself reporting on European re-action to the 1967 Arab-Israeli war dent stationed in Bonn. "By now,

the Middle East has attracted more attention than any other international story since World War II." he says "That is what makes the success of Carter's diplomacy so astounding. For the first time, a major part of the region's troubles are close to being resolved."

Pines is also an expert on one other vital aspect of the en-



as a newly hired TIME correspon- Associate Editor Burt Pines and his office view

tire Arab-Israeli confrontation: U.S. capabilities and what role they might play in the area. "In terms of U.S. defense priorities, no other region in the world, save for Western Europe, is as important," contends Pines. "It is now almost impossible for a journalist without a defense perspective to analyze events in the Middle East, especially after this settlement."

Assisting Pines in his labors was White House Correspondent Chris Ogden, who accompanied the President on his six-day diplomatic tour. "By the end of the trip, Carter seemed absolutely drained," reports Ogden, who knows the feeling himself. Carter boarded Air Force One and headed home for a well-earned rest. But Ogden, already on a second full day without sleep, returned to Washington a half day after the President and headed for the office, where he spent the rest of the week working on the story that appears in this issue. When

either Ogden or Carter is rested enough for another trip to the Middle East, he can count on Burt Pines' plotting his movements on the multicolored map.

John a . Meyers

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Cover: Carter pulls it off again. With a dazzling display of eleventh-hour diplomatic virtuosity, he leads Egypt and Israel to the brink of peace. But as war's risks diminish, the U.S. now faces the hazards of peace. See NATION.



World: More showdowns in Iran over secret trials and women's rights. ▶ Chinese troops march home. but Viet Nam stays on alert. > French unemployment stirs trouble for Barre. ▶ In Germany, a new love for an old hero



Living: The Hawaiian isle of Maui is a garden of delights unmatched by any comparable area on earth Of its beaches sports, food, hotels and beauties, Mauians say (in pidgin English): "Mo is bettah!" See LIVING.

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For the love of a hundi ____________ NTIM34

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Letters

Feuding "Friends"

To the Editors

It becomes increasingly difficult to praise Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-p'ing for his negotiations with the U.S. when Chinese troops plunder Viet Nam [March 5]. Our country does not need another Viet Nam crisis.

> Jane Erickson Mt. Prospect, Ill.

It is so obvious that China, which did not militarily interfere in the U.S.'s Viet Nam War, is now forced for its own safety to continue that war in order to stop Soviet-Vietnamese expansionism in Southeast Asia. The Chinese are indirectly fighting that war for us and the free world.

Hans Kukenkein



Would the Chinese have invaded Viet Nam without the advantage they seem to have gained through normalizing relations with the U.S.? It appears that Teng is playing the U.S. card with skill. Stephen Donnelly

Westfield, Mass.

It seems to me that Viet Nam is a little country's imitation of a superpower. David Grossberg Houston

Carterstrophic Policies?

Zones of peace, freedom and respect for human rights are quickly shrinking on the world's map [March 5]. One can only say it is "Carterstrophic."

Francis Roucher St. Ismier, France

We need once and for all to get out of the '50s, which sees the world as a giant Monopoly game in which the U.S. and the Russians buy, sell or manipulate nations as though they were pieces of cardboard. Iran was not ours to be "losts," any more than was Chi-

na or Viet Nam. President Carter is absolutely right when he stresses the limited capacity of the U.S. to control events abroad

Francis A. Hubbard Cambridge Mass

The U.S. needs a President who will do more than turn the other cheek and who is bolder than Carter the Meek.

William L. Hutchinson

Where little is at stake but pride, it is ch more sensible for the richest and

much more sensible for the richest and most powerful nation in the world to concede a bit to those nations that wish to gain face at our expense, e.g., Mexico. Edward Schlafts Jr.

Unless we do something to stop the loss of the world's respect, we may soon find that we have to prove ourselves again —by World War III.

Charles C. Daugherty Memphis

St. Louis

Children and the Future

Even thinking about the question of whether children are necessary [March 5] angers this ten-year-old. Children are the future. No children—no future.

William M. Sanders Manchester, Md.

The real reason why many people today do not want children is their fear that they would produce children as awful as they are.

Charles L. McGehee Ellensburg, Wash.

If one wants to rape the earth of its natural resources, create mass famine, force illegal migration, then I would suggest that parents have as many children as they want.

Jeffrey Zeizel

New York City

Curley, Queues and Other Things If a statue of James Michael Curley

is indeed cast in Boston's memorial mania for its late mayor [March 5], the material should be brass.

John Koster

New York City

Curley can best be immortalized by designating the waiting lines for public transportation as "Curley Queues."

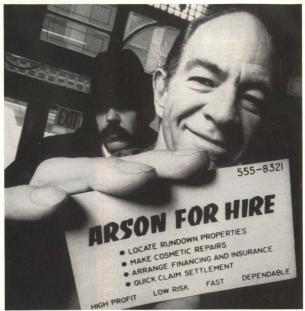
John G. Morey Terre Haute, Ind.

You claim that James Michael Curley may have won the mayoral election of 1921 over his fellow Catholic John R. Murphy by accusing Murphy of eating a roast-beef sandwich on a Friday. As Murphy's grandson, I can say that you have



THIS WEEK

EVERY WEEK



Does an organization like this exist in your city?

No? The people of Tampa, Florida thought "No" too. Yet a ring just like this flourished there for four years.

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47%, which gives you some idea how much damage arson for profit can do.

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Finally, the laws and tools are in place:

For the first time, arson is classified as a "Part I" crime by the FBI — on a level with murder and forcible rape. (And about time - arson cost over a billion dollars and 700 lives in 1977!)²

For the first time, local prosecutors are working with federal officials, using mail-fraud and racketeering statutes to bring sophisticated law enforcement forces to bear on this crime.

And Ætna, together with other insurance companies, is marshalling its resources: gathering information, planning anti-arson seminars, encouraging arson control programs and advocating tougher laws to increase the prosecution of arsonists.

Arson is a crime we all have to pay for. Your help is needed to stop it. Don't underestimate your own influence. Use it, as we are trying to use ours.

wants insurance to be affordable.

1 One result of this re-classification - passed by Congress in dition for action! October of last year-is that the the rate of arson in this country, arson-for-revenge and arson to the tools to charge, indict and

2 These shocking statistics are FBI will publish statistics on the from a 1977 study by the National

tribute to this loss.

3 A little-known federal law with the name of "RICO" (short incidence of arson in every major Fire Protection Association. Of, for the "Racketeering Influenced city. This means increased public course, arson-for-profit is only and Corrupt Organizations Act scrutiny-and public outrage-at part of the problem. Vandalism, of 1970") gives the justice system

spiracies like the Tampa-based organization.

4 To coordinate industry efforts with government agencies and neighborhood groups, the Insurance All-Industry Committee for Arson Control was established

















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Letters

much underestimated Curley's genius for political skulduggery.

What did happen in 1921 was that Curley hired a group of clean-cut young men from out of the city to come in two days before the election and go through South and East Boston campaigning and handing out leaflets in the name of "Baptists for John R. Murphy

Ronan Grady Colonel, U.S.A. (ret.) Chevy Chase, Md.

With his great political power Curley could easily have been a wealthy man, but he died relatively poor from giving more than he should to those in need. Except for Mayor Daley of Chicago, there has never been anyone like him Edward W Kenney

San Francisco

Disastermania

In your article "The Deluge of Disastermania" [March 5] you grouped Hal Lindsey's The Late Great Planet Earth with Hollywood trash like Earthquake and Blizzard. Lindsey's book is based on Bible prophecy. Armageddon will not be a disaster for those who believe in Jesus Christ. The disaster is your article Neil J. Ryan

Stillwater, Okla.

Hal Lindsey's shuffling of Scripture is enough to discredit his book. I would rather be caught by the sudden crack of doom than live day to day in frightened contemplation of it.

Fred T. Cubbage Cornville, Ariz.

Brumley's Grave Problem

If the residents of Brumley Gap, Va., are trying to find an Indian grave in order to "fend off inundation" by a dam [Feb. 26], I certainly wish them better luck than the Seneca Indians had when the Government decided to build Kinzua Dam in the Allegheny Mountains on the New York-Pennsylvania border. One of the great leaders of the Iroquois nation was buried there along with many Senecas, and the tribe was told to move them or they would be flooded. No wonder they call Kinzua "Lake Perfidy Arleen J. Williams

Ridgewood, N.Y.

It is ironic that the principal hope for the continued existence of Brumley Gap and its way of life lies in locating an Indian grave site. Can the remains of a displaced civilization be used to aid another on the verge of its own extinction?

Dennis Bernstein Ann Arbor, Mich.

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American Scene

In New Hampshire: Here We Go Again

the hose-not the New Hampshire primany? Not yet! Those images of
Jimmy and Scoop, Mo and Sargs. Ronnie and Jerry cittering the television
screens and the front pages have barely
begun to fide. And here they are, by any
measure a full year too soon, about to assault us once again. So brace yourself for
those film clips of frigid handshakes at
the gates of bleak factories, with candidates snorting white steam from mouths
and nostrils, of ration campaign promiese, of parka-encased reporters up to their
knees in snow, watching and waiting in

vain for a phrase or a glance that will rise above the level of the completely forgettable.

Long before there was a New Hampshire, Shakespeare wrote of a "setter up and plucker down of kings," a role that the Granite State has, with variations, assumed to itself. Since 1952, in fact, setting up and plucking down Presidents has been a cottage industry in New Hampshire, along with summer camps and maple syrup. By holding the nation's earliest primary, New Hampshire sought and got an outrageous amount of press attention, partly because there is not much other news in February, partly because presidential politicking is a peculiarly American disease

A fascinating point about the New Hampshire primary soon became evident: if a Republican was elected Presi-

dent ten months later, he turned out to be the fellow who had won the New Hampshire primary; if a Democrat won, he likewise happened to have finished first in New Hampshire. And then there were those New Hampshire debacles that, given a little hindsight and a lot of state pride. seemed significant: Harry Truman in 1952, George Romney in 1968 and Ed Muskie in 1972. Ergo. New Hampshire obviously was a prize worth trudging through the snow for. In 1975, a regional politican named Jimmy decided to jump the gun and trudge twice-that year and in the primary and presidential election year of 1976. When voters eventually became aware that Jimmy's last name was Carter and made the man President, the nattern of stumping New Hampshire only once every four years at primary time was shattered, perhaps forever.

So here we go again in 1979, a full year before the vote. Republican Senator Bob Dole has been buttering up fellow World

War II veterans in Nashua. Handsome Republican Congressman Phil Crane has already dropped in 20 times, charming the ladies at every stop. He has also pointed out to the legislature that charges in the Manchester Union Leader about his sex. life and drinking habits were "beneath contempt." Senate Minority Leader Howard Baker appechified at a Republican banque in Concord. For all children of the Connecticut Senator Lowell Weicker is planning a foray. Former California Governor Ronald Reagan, fearful of not vinning big enough if he does come in, is

TUG!

soon became evident: if a Re- Hopeful Phil Crane presses flesh at a G.O.P. fund raiser in Bedford

likely name Dudley Dudley.

petrified that he will not be nominated at all if he stays out. And up in Durham, waiting for the call to marshal the state's Democrats behind their true love, Senator Edward Kennedy, sits the fiercest of New Hampshire's liberals, a female pol with blond hair, sculpted features and the un-

Big John Consally's first visit of the becampaign included a 1978 appearance at Goffstown (pop. 2,272) that attracted precisely no one. Consally will try again, never fear, this time trailed, again never fear, this time trailed, again never fear, by hordes of reporters, whose expenditures for motel rooms, meals, booze and rental cars juice up the fragile New Hampshire economy each election year to the tune of an estimated \$4 million. They will probably spend more than 37 million in the preprinary

So much for the more or less serious

candidates. Chief Burning Wood, an
"honorary" Hopi with 'nome" Delaware
blood, will soon be to some 'Delaware
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d frogs from New Jersey has indicated his intention to run, or hop, on behalf of "low-cost

government. Is anybody listening? Well, no. In the dingy secondfloor office from which he directs the state Republican Party and the Goodyear tire franchise in Manchester, GOP Chairman Gerald Carmen concedes that "the ordinary, rank and file voter isn't all that stirred up. You think he's trying to decide between Reagan and Crane? Nah. He's wondering whether his car will start in this cold weather. He's hoping the temperature won't drop to 20 below tonight."

At Howard Johnson's Motor Lodge, the desk clerk seems first to rebut, then to affirm, Carmen's assessment.
"Been keeping up with all the presidential candidates traipsing through Manches-te?" "Yeah." he says bright-

ter?" "Yeah," he says brightly. "A couple of them were right here at the lodge." "Which ones?" A gulp. "I can't remember which ones."

the restaurant, a handsome, prematurely gray lawyer, Edward Pell, is enduring a meal of fried chicken and french fries. Pell lives in Greene, Rhode Island, but comes to New Hampshire "five or more times a year." His interest in poltics is greater than normal because he is Senator, Clabborne Pell. Surely he has encountered some of the politicking, or heard a lot of talk about it?

"Nope," says Pell. "The only guy I ran into who was talking politics was a fellow who sat next to me in the sauna." What did he say? "He said Phil Crane is really rollin'." Anything more? "That's all."

The waitress brings Pell's check. "You have a favorite presidential candidate yet?" she is asked. "No," she shrugs. "I'm just thinkin' about the North Pole."

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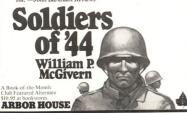
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Armando Courtusto

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American Scene

What about the North Pole? "I'm thinkin' it isn't this cold at the North Pole."

Next day, as the wind howls and Carmen is one of the few who can focus on presidential politics. "They're all charming," he says of the Republican candidates.

Then why is everyone thinking only about getting his car started? Carmen is short, rumpled, well seasoned. And direct. "Look," he says, "this is a very sophisticated state. Everyone has seen a President. Nearly everyone has seen several Presidents."

Confirmation is but half a mile away. No presidential candidate is in Manchester today, but there is a political gathering. At the pastel-carpeted office of New Hampshire's recently elected Republican Senator, Gordon Humphrey, people are lined up to chat about problems that rarely change, whoever is President.

44 m 6," volunteers Ken Blaine, a retired cannery superintendent and a descendant of 1884 presidential candidate James G. Blaine, once accused of perjury and thereafter known as the "continental liar from the state of Maine." "We have less and less interest in each succeeding election. Things don't get better no matter who's in the White House. I looked forward to a comfortable retirement. It won't be. I just retired and already I'm dipping into assets."

Who can do something about it?

Who can do something about it?

Waybe nobody." Will Blaine support any
of the candidates in the primary next
year? "Maybe Ronnie, but I don't think
he should run. He'll be 69." Dole
"doesn't have the stature." No one else
stirs him

Thus the presidential parade passes by, all but meaningless except to the candidates, the political groupies, the press. On the windblown streets, with snow stacked at the curbs and down the center strip, people all seem to be blimp-shaped, wrapped in navy or rust or blue quilted usits. In motes, freezing guests set thermostats at 90"—but the mercury never touches 60° all night.

Still, New Hampshire voters take vey satisfaction in the fact that the politicians cannot ignore them. Whenever a state threatens to move its primary ahead of them, the obstinate New Hampshiremen just push their own forward a bit. There is in fact a law in the Granite State requiring that its primary be moved at least one week ahead of any other state's. That should take care of Maine's threats to school at primary on Fabro 1841. Should a primary on Fabro 1841. Should have a primary on Fabro 1841. Should have a read that in anything else. Says Tom amin first in this. We intend to remain first in this.

As to the candidates, the press and all those other interlopers, Shakespeare has a line for them too: "Unbidden guests are often welcomest when they are gone."

— Hays Gorey





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Nation

TIME/MAR. 26, 1979

COVER STORY

Peace: Risks and Rewards

Dangers lie ahead, but Carter's diplomatic coup was masterful

he gesture was eloquent. Emerging from the doorway of Air Force One on the floodlit tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base last week, an exhausted Jimmy Carter greeted several thousand welcomers by finging open his arms. It was a movement that oddly combined a sense of triumph with just a hint of martyrdom. Said Carter. "I believe that God has answered our prayers."

He had taken a tremendous risk and had won. At times during his six-day mission to Cairo and Jerusalem in an attempt to forge an Egyptian-Israeli peace, failStates of America." Then he told the gathering what it had come to hear: years of American diplomacy and months of his own Administration's extraordinarily intensive efforts had brought Egypt and Israel to where they "have now defined the major components of a peace treaty."

Carter lavished praise on Egyptian Premier Menachem Begin for "daring to break the pattern of 30 years of bitterness and war" and for "venturing into the unknown." He promised that the U.S. "will be with them as they begin to make

A key moment: Sadat gestures as Carter calls Begin to relay Egypt's O.K. of final proposals

A monumental triumph of presidential diplomacy and a joint venture into the unknown.

comed him back to Washington by playing Hail to the Chief. The jubilant crowd of Government officials, political leaders and well-wishers waved tiny American flags and held posters proclaiming JIM-MY, PROPHET FOR PEACE. The President emotionally declared that he was "glad to be home—back in our beloved United"

Acknowledging that his intimate personal participation in the peace process had also risked "the prestige of the U.S." the President stressed that "the efforts would have been worth making regardless of the outcome. In war, we offer our very lives as a matter of routine. We must be no less daring, no less steadfast, in the pursuit of peace."

peace a living reality for their people."

Only minor differences remained between Cairo and Jerusalem, and even these soon faded. The morning after Carter's return home, he received at letephone call from Jerusalem. The Israeli Cabinet. reported a home proposed to the carefully worded U.S. compromise on the few disputed issues. Said Carter after the call: "This means that all of the outstanding isuses in the negotiations between Egypt

and Israel have now been successfully

The following day the Egyptian Chine also unanimously approved the final details of the agreement. Congratulating Begin and Sadat, Carter declared that "the peace which their peoples so clearly the control of the agreement of the people so the sadar in Cartor "think we have she we begin and the sadar in Cartor "think we have schewed peace, thanks to Jimmy." Meanwhile, the Israeli and Egyptian Defense Ministers met in Washington to put the final touches on the annex dealing with the milliary rately presented their requests for U.S. military aid.

The main hurdle left for the treaty was the approval of Israel's Knesset. Debate begins early this week and is expected to last for a few days. Although rhetorical fireworks are anticipated and Begin is certain to come under blistering attack from the ultra-left and ultra-right, there is almost no chance that the measure will fail. The opposition Labor Party leader. Shimon Peres, has already indicated that he will support the treaty, even though by voting against it he might be able to topple Begin's government. Said Peres: "Peace comes before power, and I would prefer to see a peace with mistakes rather than the removal of a government that I do not consider the right government." Once endorsed by the Knesset, the treaty, in its English version (which is the authoritative one), will probably be signed in Washington by Carter, Begin and Sadat, perhaps as early as next Monday.

By his considerable diplomatic achievement. Carter substantially re duced the risks of future wars in the Middle East and made it possible for Egypt and Israel to enjoy the rewards of peace. In the Middle East, however, even peace has its risks, and they may prove to be substantial. At the very best, a Cairo-Jerusalem accord can only be a first step toward a general reconciliation of Israel with all its Arab neighbors. Central to this reconciliation is a resolution of the Palestinian question. In seven Arab towns on the West Bank, Palestinian crowds greeted last week's news with jeers and barrages of stones. Israeli troops in Halhul impetuously fired into a crowd, killing two demonstrators, one of them a 17year-old girl

While the Palestinian problem remains unresolved, the main risk in the Egyptian-Israeli peace is that other Arab states may persist in viewing the pact as



a bilaceral deal that ignores broader Arabi interests. Such a view could result in the near complete isolation of Egypt and Issel and in acts of terror against their leaders. Even today the possibility that a murder Sadat hanust Washington and Jerusalem as well as Cairo. The disappearance of the courageous and moderate Egyptian leader could destroy whatever stability has been achieved by U.S. dip-

Even if the hostility against Sadat's treaty does not reach that level of violence, the Arab opposition will nonetheless be serious. The radical Iraqi government announced last week that as soon as the treaty is signed, it will convene a conference of other Arab states and consider various economic sanctions against Egypt. These would include severing diplomatic, cultural and trade relations with Cairo, boycotting Egyptian products and re-evaluating ties to countries that remain friendly with Egypt, Saudi Arabia, which has been supporting Egypt with \$2 billion a year, may cut back or even eliminate its aid.

eace also poses a risk for Washington. If the U.S. comes to be regarded as the architect of a strictly bilateral Egyptian-Israeli settlement, it too could become dangerously alienated from the rest of the Middle East. With Iran now in unfriendly and potentially hostile hands, Washington cannot afford too great a loosening of its ties with Saudi Arabia, a country strongly committed to pan-Arab interests. To assure moderate Arab states of the U.S. dedication to a general Middle East settlement. Carter is dispatching a high-level delegation on a rush visit to Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Reflecting the broad geopolitical concerns of the U.S., the group is headed by National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and includes General David Jones, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. To dramatize his personal involvement, the President is sending his son Chip on the mission.

The fact that peace has its hazards -and that it will cost U.S. taxpayers a large amount of money (see box)-should not dim the luster of Carter's diplomatic triumph. Reaction to it has nearly been unanimously positive. "A minor miracle, exclaimed Jim Wright, Democratic majority leader in the House of Representatives. Said New Hampshire Democratic Chief Romeo Dorval: "Now the President can tackle bread-and-butter issues with more confidence. People will look to him with more respect because of what he's accomplished. It was quite a gamble, but worth it." The Republicans made little effort to denigrate Carter's achievement, G.O.P. National Chairman Bill Brock said he was "delighted" with Carter's success and reckoned that it would provide the "international boost

Greeted by cheers, Jimmy Carter and Rosalynn arrive in the U.S. from the Middle East

Nation



Carter listens to Knesset outburst at Begin
"Please, only one heckler at a time."

which [Carter] needs and which we all need." Overseas, the President's diplomacy

was widely applauded. Exclaimed West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, a frequent critic of Carter: "Very good news. Well done. It's a great relief." A top British official said, "Carter deserves praise. The risks were great, but in the post-Iran situation, the risks of doing nothing were greater." Editorialized London's Daily Telegraph: "A peace treaty between [Egypt and Israel] will have a tremendous potential." The only completely sour notes were heard from some of Sadat's fellow Arab leaders and the Kremlin, Protested the Soviet Communist Party daily Pravda: "This is an abandonment [by Sadatl of the defense of the interests of the Palestinian people.

Like September's Camp David summit, Carter's mission seemed doomed



Exhausted Dayan before all-night meeting
"We can't let him leave in this spirit."

until almost the very end. At one point just before Carter was scheduled to fly home. Press Secretary Jody Powell told report-ser, "We tried everything, and it didn't work." Carter had flown to the area carrying a set of U.S. compromise proposals that had been approved by Begin and the Taraeli Cabbnet. In Cario. Stada accepted a present the control of the Carter Stade of the Carter S

From the start of the week, the outlook seemed unpromising. Begin was surprised to hear Carter talk as though he believed that the dramatic presence of an American President in the Middle East would provide enough impetus to produce an Egyptian-Israeli treaty. He listened quietly as Carter, at a dinner in the Premier's home, focused primarily on the formalities of a treaty signing. Sadat was ready to fly to Jerusalem for the ceremony, said Carter. When the President finished talking, Begin bluntly said such a timetable was impossible. In the didactic manner that has antagonized many who deal with him. Begin reminded Carter that Israel was a parliamentary democracy in which the Knesset had to be consulted before a treaty could be signed.

ow it was Carter who was startled and dismayed. While he knew that Knesset endorsement was required at some point, he had never been told explicitly that the boisterous Knesset had to debate the whole treaty before it could even be signed. When it became apparent that his hopes for concluding a treaty before returning to the U.S. were vain, Carter was upset and angry. But Begin remained firm. In a subsequent session, when Begin again refused to sign an agreement before Knesset approval, Carter declared bluntly: "What you are saying means that we shall leave the Middle East without a joint statement or any kind of signature.

The situation clearly seemed to have reached an impasse. When Carter brought up Sadat's proposals, Begin said they were "completely unacceptable." Then, according to an American at the negotiating table, "there was tremendous haggling. It was vintage Begin." Said another White House adviser. "There was no way for us to win, particularly by trading cheap shots with Begin." At the end of the first day's talks, Begin told newsmen, "The problems are services."

Actually, agreement was being blocked by only a few relatively minor issues. The most important points of the Egyptian-Israeli dispute had been settled in the Blair House talks following Camp David Most of the key secondary issues had been resolved by the compromises that Carter had brought to the Middle cally agreed on the touchy matter of setting a one-year duration as the target for negotiations intended to provide automy for the 450,000 Palestinians in the

Gaza Strip and the 700,000 on the West Bank of the Jordan River.

What was causing Carter problems at week in Jerusalem was some new demands made by Sadat and points raised by the Israelis. In the endgame of negotiations, however, minor points acquire enormous symbolic value, and each side may find it psychologically painful to make the final concession. Carto was insisting that an Egyptian lisison office be established in Gara immediately after the treaty is signed. Sadata caused the first of the Gaza Palestinians. And to ensure that Gaza attains autonomy on schedule even if there are delays on the West Bank, Sa-



Brzezinski fondling worry beads in Egypt
"I don't think the Cabinet wants peace.

dat wanted a firm commitment that Gaza self-rule would begin twelve months after the treaty ratification. Sadat also asked for the Israeli military withdrawal from Sinai to proceed in stages.

For their part, the Israelis were demanding guarantees of oil from the wells that will be turned over to the Egyptians when Cairo regains sovereignty over the Sinai. Sadat refused this, saying that it was not part of the original Camp David agreement. He argued that by giving 15rael a long-term petroleum agreement, he reatment. This would offend other Arab states, something he could scarcely afford.

Begin insisted on an exchange of ambassadors between Cairo and Jerusalem



"You came on the highest mission in humanity, for peace," Begin said in farewell, "and you have succeeded.

one month after the completion of the first stage of Israel's Sinai withdrawal (ten months after the treaty signing). Such an exchange, the Israelis said, would be a dramatic symbol of the new, normalized relations between the two former enemies. But Sadat wanted the ambassadorial exchange to await the establishment of selfrule in Gaza and the West Bank, something that could take several years. He was concerned that, once the Israeli Star of David flag begins flying over an embassy in Cairo, some Arab states would recall their envoys from Egypt. It is almost certain, moreover, that the Arab League's headquarters would move out of Cairo rather than remain in a city that is host to an Israeli senior diplomat.

At Monday morning's session, the Israelis disclosed that they would accept some of Sadat's changes but refused to budge on the issues of Gaza. Sinai oil and the exchange of ambassadors. Declared Carter: "That is not enough." The President then pressed Begin hard, insisting that Israel sign the treaty. "No, sir," replied the Israeli leader. "We are a free people and we are not going to sign it unless we decide." In a separate meeting with senior Israeli deputies, Carter was chided for dealing as Laban did with the Patriarch Jacob in Genesis 29: 15-28, reneging on a bargain and increasing the price. Retorted Carter, an accomplished student of the Bible: "But look at what a beautiful wife Jacob got in the end."

Monday afternoon, Carter went to address the Knesset, and he did not mask his frustration. Going over the heads of the Israeli Premier and Cabinet, the President appealed directly to their nation. Said he: "The people of [Israel and Egypt] are now ready for peace. The leaders have not yet proven that we are also ready for peace-enough to take a chance." The Knesset listened to Carter in silence and politely applauded only once, when he had finished. This was in marked contrast to the enthusiastic response Carter had received two days earlier from the Egyptian parliament, which interrupted him 14 times with applause.

The Knesset's treatment of Carter, as it turned out, was much friendlier than

Standing on ceremonial red carpet, President Sadat and his wife Jihan, accompanied by top aides, wave goodbye to Carter



Nation



P.L.O. Chief Yasser Arafat in Beirut
"We slap back twice as hard."

that accorded Begin. Obstreperous deputies subjected the Premier to such prolonged heckling that at one time the Speaker had to plead: "Please, only one heckler at a time." Some hard-lining members of Begin's own Likud faction accused him of abandoning Israel's claims to the West Bank, while Communists shouted that the government was sup-

pressing the Palestimians.
Throughout the uproar, Carter sat stone-faced, According to a White House aide, the President was dismayed by the lack of decorum on what was, in many respects, a formal state occasion. But Begin, who used to be quite a heckler himself

when he was a deputy, seemed almost to relish the rowdiness as a proof of his repeated argument that his negotiating powers are limited by opposition in the Cabinet and Knesset.

After the Kresset adjourned, the Israeli Cabinet Committee for Security and Foreign Affairs took up the treaty. It could find noway of breaking the deallock. Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, though exhausted by the protracted negotiations, pleaded that both sides must keep tryings add he: "We can't let the President leave in this spirit. The U.S. is the most important to the production of the protract of the production of the country of the

leaving or staying."
Yet Dayan persisted. How about sticking, he suggested, to the words of the original Camp David agreement? This would mean that Israel would drop its demands for Sinai oil and Egypt would do the same on the matter of a liaison office in Gaza. "Let's leave them for further ne-gotiations," exhorted Dayan. But Begin and most of the Cabinet disagree.

Then Dayan telephoned Secretary of State Cyrus Svance and invited the Americans to join the deliberations. Vance, Brezeinski and other members of the U.S. team hurried to the Knesset committee croom while Carter remained in his sixth-floor suite at the King David Hotel. The Lake The Carter than the Ca

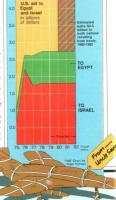
At this point, William Quandt, the National Security Council's Middle East expert, called Presidential Advisor Hamilton Jordan at the King David and glumly told him: "It's the end of the line." Re-

called a senior U.S. aide later:
"We were very, very down." As
the meeting at Begin's office
broke up, Ephraim Evron, Is-

rael's ambassador to the U.S., asked Brzezinski what he thought. "I don't think the Cabinet wants peace," answered the American. "No, no," Evron responded hurriedly. "Don't jump to conclusions. We can find ways."

When the Americans returned to Carter's suite, Vance gave what one U.S participant called "a very dismal" report. Carter was due to leave Israel that evening, and some of his bags had already been put into a guarded van outside the hotel. Judging that it was already too late to leave that day, however, the President decided to remain overnight and invite Begin to a farewell breakfax Tuesday

75 '76 '77 '78 '79 '80 '81 '82



The Price of Peace

f this is a fair estimate of the cost," said Senate Republican Leader Howard Baker, "it's a real bargain." Declared House Republican Leader John Rhodes. "I don't think it'll be a problem." Insisted House Speaker Tip O'Neill: "It's a cheap price." Joked a White House aide: "See, we got it for you wholesale."

The soothing comments were prompted by Jimmy Catref's private summer to congressional leaders that the U.S. price age of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty would be only price age of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty would be only price age of the Egyptian and the Egyptian and the State of the years. Administration officials later raised this estimate to nearly 55 billion, with Israel and Egypt each getting about \$2 billion more for military aid and \$500 million more each for economic support over the three years. Israel now gets \$1.8 billion and Egypt \$8 billion annually, making them the largest U.S. aid recipients.

There was widespread speculation that the estimates will

prove to be low. The fig-

ures had come as a relief to the legislators largely because unofficial predictions as high as \$15 hillion had been published. The President's approximations were apparently based solely on the basic commitments he had made to carry out the treatty terms. They include paying part of the cost of moving military equipment from two major advasses that Israel must abandon in the Sinai and establishing similar bases within Israel in the Negev desert. A U.S. survey team estimated the cost at \$1 billion, and Israel has predicted that \$3 billion more would be required to make the new bases operational.

Another U.S. obligation that was at least implied during the treaty negotiations was that Washington would help make up for any cut in economic aid that Egypt now gets, primarily from Saudi Arabia, plus small amounts from Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. That aid runs at close to §3 billion a morning. He would then fly to Cairo for a one-hour courtesy stop at the airport to brief Sadat. For four hours Monday evening, while Carter's plans remained uncertain, the highway from Jerusalem to Ben-Gurion Airport remained closed to provide absolute security for the expected presidential motorcade.

Later that evening. Dayan called Vance and asked for another meeting. It lasted about an hour, after which Vance told Carter that there suddenly appeared to be some room to maneuver. Encouraged, Carter told Vance to try once again to draft some new ideas. The Secretary on and his team worked until 1 a m, were ready to brief Carter an bour later.

At 8:30, Begin arrived for breakfast, and Carter offered him Vance's proposals, which were not very different from those that Dayan had been urging the Israeli

Cabinet to accept. The main points:

Israel will drop its demand for preferential rights to buy guaranteed quantities of Egyptian oil if Cairo will sell oil to Jerusalem on nondiscriminatory commercial terms. The U.S. will extend to 15 years the five-year commitment that it made in 1975 to guarantee Israel's sup-ply of oil if that country is unable to meet its needs on the world market.

► Egypt will drop its demand for an Egyptian liaison office in Gaza and its insistence that Gaza Palestinians have an implied priority over West Bank Palestinians in achieving autonomy. These two matters will be dealt with in the next stage of Egyptian—Israeli neacotiations.

▶ Israel will withdraw from the western half of the Sinai within nine months and will do so in stages, as Sadat had requested. In return, Cairo will agree to exchange ambassadors with Jerusalem one month after that phase of the military withdrawal is completed.

Begin, who seems to have an exquisite sense of when the breaking point is near, suddenly became conciliatory. He said that he would present these "serious pro-



Israeli Defense Minister Weizman (left) visits Pentagon Chief Brown in Washington Both Israel and Egypt look to the U.S. for billions of dollars in additional aid.

posals' to his Cabinet. If it supported them, he added, they would be sent to the Knesset. And if the proposals were defeated there, his government would resign. Begin, in fact, was almost effusive as he bade Carter farewell at Ben-Gurion. Said he: "You came on the highest mission in unmanity, for peace, and you have succeeded." Then he added: "Now, of course, it is the turn of Egypt."

s Egyptian officials waited at Cairo's International Airport for Carter's plane, they said that they were still hopeful. But one added: "How can you be hopeful when you're dealing with Begin?" Carter and Sadat had been scheduled to meet for about an hour; in fact they huddled in the VIP pavilion for 21/2 hours. Glancing at notes on a small vellow sheet. Carter briefed Sadat on the talks with Begin. Said the American: "We succeeded some on oil, but we didn't get what you wanted on Gaza." Indicating that he thought the Israelis had a strong case on the Gaza matter, Carter said: "It's time to cut the Gordian knot." After some hesitation, Sadat

replied: "I agree." He added that he would trust Carter to pressure Begin to live up to the treaty terms promising autonomy for Gaza Palestinians.

In Using a broking provided by Air forecome for communications center. Carter called Begin and told him of Sadar's acceptance of the proposals. "Fine." said Begin. "I'm glad to hear that." The mont appeared almost anticlimation ment appeared almost anticlimation ment appeared almost anticlimation must appear and the proposal and the proposals that Begin would be submitting to the Israeli Cabinet. When a reporter proposals that Begin would be submitting to the Israeli Cabinet. When a reporter should," If the Israeli Cabinet accepts and modded affirmatively, Sighed a White House aide." We survived."

Just as Carter's reputation would have suffered, especially abroad, if his mission failed, he could now look to the rewards of the prospective peace. Conceded House G.O.P. Leader John Rhodes: "Carter undoubtedly stands taller. For the time being, his stock is higher." An elated White House aide exclaimed: "I'd like to White House aide exclaimed: "I'd like to

year. Other Arab nations are expected to apply pressure to end this Arab help to Sadat. If that were to happen, the Administration would apparently be ready to add some unspecified portion of the \$3 billion to the U.S. contribution to Egypt.

The third treaty commitment involving a possible cost to U.S. was the American guarantee that it would provide oil from its own resources if Israel cannot buy its normal oil supplies on the world market. Of greater concern in Congress than the cost, if any, is the likely adverse public reaction to sending oil to Israel if there are shortages within the U.S. The Administration argues, however, that any Israeli oil deficiency would be an insignificant portion of U.S. supplies.

Perhaps the biggest question is whether Carter can resist the requests from both Egyrt and Israel for ald beyond the amounts involved in supporting the treaty. The defense minnisters of both nations arrived in Washington last week to present their shopping Isls. Egypt is seeking help to buy 60 M-60 tanks, 300 F-16 fighter aircraft, 70 transport planes, and up to eight destroyers or submarines. In nonmilitary ald. Egypt wants funds for housine, arricultural production and a new telephone system. In arms alone, Israel wants various tanks, naval guns, missile systems and armored personnel carriers

The price of all this hardware remained subject to bargaining Said Defense Secretary Harold Brown: "You've heard a lot of figures and you'll hear a lot more." Illinois Republican Congressman Robert Michel went further, predicting: "When all the diplomatic fine print is exposed, every one of Carter's bear hugs with Sadat and Begin will cost the American taxpayer a billion dollars or more per hug."

The peace bill comes at a time when Carter is fighting to hold down the federal budget deficit, advocates of various domestic programs are clamoring for more money, and in-flation is a foremost concern of Americans. While flosus aides scoff at any inflationary impact of the treaty. "It's just a flea over the peace treaty fleds and the costs inger—and most like-ly increase—congressional and public resistance to paying the price could yet prove a formidable problem.

Nation



Israeli police patrol Jerusalem's Old City to prevent Arab outbursts after Carter's visit
But until the Palestinian issue is resolved, a real Middle East peace remains elusive.

keep Sadat on TV! He keeps saying, 'Jimmy Carter did it.' We'll make that part of our election campaign manual."

and careful achievement will probably help him most in silencing those who accuse him of feedless leadership. Said Democratic National Committee Chairman John White: "I'd advise those Republicants to get themselves a new speech, because the old, weak leadership number just won't wash any more." Tim Hagan, Democratic leader of Ohio's Cuyahoga County, speeclused that Carefur's triumph

"will slow down everybody who has any idea of challenging him for re-election." What worries some politicians, how-

What worries some politicians, howwer, is the potentially enormous tab that the U.S. may have to pick up as its part of the peace treaty feee box. It may be painful for the White House to ask for billions in economic and military aid for Egypt and Israel at a time when donestly programs and the property of the most programs and the property of the treath of the property of the property of the Leader Robert Byrd answered: "Whatwert the price, the cost of peace must be weighed against the cost of war."

One benefit of Carter's successful di-

One benefit of Carter's successful diplomacy is that the President should now have more time for such urgent domestic concerns as energy and inflation. At week's end the President secluded hims of the president section of the president of the

ow much added clout Carter will have on other issues because of the acclaim he has won for his Middle East policy is uncertain. Democratic leaders feel that some Administration programs have already benefited; they point to the healthy margins by which both houses last week approved the White House formula for maintaining nonofficial economic and cultural ties with Taiwan. However, on a more crucial issue, like an arms limitation treaty with the Soviets, an Administration aide cautions that Senators "are going to vote on SALT according to whether they think it is a good treaty, not whether the Egyptian-Israeli accord is a good one." Whatever the domestic political dividends of Carter's Middle East mission, he and his aides realize that they will probably be shortlived. When D.N.C. Chairman White saw the President and exclaimed, "You're the Babe Ruth of American politics, a real home-run hitter!" Carter candidly replied: "Just for today."

The Terms of the Treaty

4 chnicalities, legalisms and phrases." So Jimmy Carman I create the state state late pit the Egyptians and Israelis from signing a pence treaty for six months after the control of the control state and the control of the control of the control of the success at the September summit, which ended with Israeli Premier Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Arway Sadat signing two accords. The first was an outline of a comprehensive Middle East peace; the second was a general description of the pace treaty between Egypt and Israel High lights of the overall settlement, including the deails worked out last week.

Sinal. Israel this week will submit to Egypt a detailed immetable for the initial withdrawal of its forces from the Sinai Peninsula. Israeli troops will pull back until, nine months after the signing of the treaty, they are all positioned east of a line running from El Artin and the sing of th

built in the Sinai will be restricted to Egyptian civilian use.

Egyptian-Israeli Relations. One month after the Israeli

Egyptian-Israell Relations. One month after the Israeli forces have moved behind the IL Arish-Rax Muhammad line, both countries will exchange might will end its commic beyout of Israel and grant Israeli ships and cargoes the right of passage through the Suez Canal. Israel will be permitted to buy oil from the Sinai fields that will be returned to Egypt. If Israel runs short of oil during the next IS years, the US. has promised to be an early the ISS years, the US. has promised to benear to each other's citizens and will eventually sign agreements on other trade and cultural exchanges.

West Bank and Gaza. Negotiations on Palestinian selfrule on the West Bank and Gaza Strip will begin one month after the treaty is ratified and be completed within twelve months. Elections of Palestinian local councils, the first step toward self-government, are to be held promptly, though no date is specified. One month after self-rule is working, Israeli military forces on the West Bank and Gaza will be withdrawn behind Israel's 1949 borders. There will then begin a five-year transition period, during which the final status of the West Bank and Gaza will be negotiated. Still to be decided is the eventual fate of Israeli settlements and whether Israel will retain military outposts on the West Bank. If West Bank Palestinians refuse to participate in the talks, Begin agreed orally to let self-rule be established in Gaza. One of the trickiest issues, the status of predominantly Arab. East Jerusalem, is not even mentioned in the treaty or Camp. David agreements.



Getting the runaround trying to find a good tasting low tar?

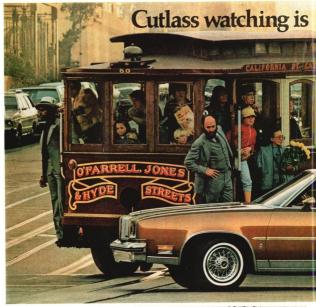
Wait'll you taste Golden Lights.

As low in tar as you can go and still get good taste.

Source comparative 'tar' and nicotine figures: FTC Report May 1978. Of All Brands Sold: Lowest tar. 0.5 mg.'tar.' 0.05 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette. Golden Lights: Kings—8 mg. 'tar.' 0.7 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC Method.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.





There's All over America people are sitting up and taking a lot note of our snappyof news ill oking Olds Cutlass.
Olds today, a row now, Cutlass best selling mid-size. And it looks like 1979 will be no different. That's right, Oldsmobile Cutlass is

the #1 selling mid-size.

And to keep Cutlass ever so popular, we've made a 4.3-litre diesel V8 available. An engine which gives you an EPA estimated (24) miles per gallon. With a whopping highway estimate of 32 mpg.



Now remember, compare the "estimated mpg" to the "estimated mpg" of other cars: you may get different mileage depending on speed, trip length and weather. And your actual highway mileage will probably be less than the estimated highway fuel economy.

When you do compare, you'll find that the diesel V8 Cutlass





has an EPA rating some subcompacts don't match, and it has the #1 EPA mileage estimate of any mid-size.

Yes, Cutlass watching is getting better and better. But why watch? Just decide which Cutlass model is right for you.

Supreme. The lowest priced of the three, even with the

available whitewalls, sport mirrors and wheel rings which are shown.

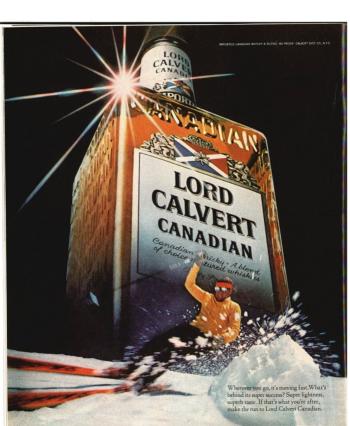
Calais. The road car Cutlass. Standard with bucket seats, full instrumentation, and stabilizer bars front and rear.

Supreme Brougham. Luxury you'd expect in bigger, more expensive cars—in a practically sized and priced Cutlass.

Cutlass watching. About the only thing better is Cutlass owning. Which begins with a visit to your Olds dealer.

Oldsmobile

Cutlass Have one built for you.



Follow the Canadian Superstar.

Nation

The main rewards of peace, if that finally emerges as a result of Carter's diplomatic mission, would of course go to Egypt and Israel. Their citizens would be spared the constant threat of renewed warfare, and the immense military burden on their national budgets (as much as 35% of the total) could be significantly eased. Their consumer economies, now greatly hampered by defense spending, might grow much more rapidly. Moreover, the very psychology of Egyptian and Israeli societies would probably be transformed once it became clear that they were no longer living on the edge of war

Although the accord with Cairo would greatly reduce the chances of war with Egypt, Israel must still be concerned about its frontier with Syria, especially now that Damascus has been forging closer ties with the hard-line regime in neighboring Iraq. Explained Energy Minister Yitzhak Modai: "We do not yet have a peace treaty. We have only a non-belligerency agreement on one front."

osi Egyptians, too, greeted last, week's breakthrough without great emotion. Wondered Abded Ismaili, a Cairo grocer with Israel: "Is peace magic?" After so many starts and stops, the news of a prosective settlement now fails to excite Egyptians as did Sadar's dramatic journey to Jerusalem 16 months ago.

The rewards seem certain to remain limited as long as the peace itself is limited. The greatest payoff, therefore, must await a settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, and with the front-line states of Jordan and Syria. Following that, Israel might be able to normalize relations with such key Arab nations as

Saudi Arabia and Iraq.

Just how difficult this will be was indicated by the outrage with which almost the entire Arab world, from the western Mediterranean to the Arabias Sea, reacted by last week's developments.

Sea, reacted by last week's developments with the same and the same and the week of the same and s

On the West Bank, Palestinians expressed anguish that Carter, whom they had hailed in the past as a friend, had abandoned their interests, as they saw it, in favor of hurrying through an Egyptian-Israeli accord. Said Gabl Baramki, vice president of Bir Zeit College near Ramallah: "He did not seem to be concerned at all about us or our rights. We seem to be forgotten."

While many Arab leaders talked of possible sanctions against Egypt, some



Remains of a Soviet-supplied Egyptian tank disabled by Israelis in 1967 war

Three Decades of Conflict

The history of Israel's relationship with its Arab neighbors is one of war, unending distrust and attempts by other nations both to exploit and to enthose disputes. The major milestones:

Nov. 29, 1947. After some 65 years of Jewish immigration, greatly accelerated during the era of Nazi persecution, the United Nations General Assembly votes to abolish the 1920 British mandate and partition Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. The Arabs reject the plan, and civil strife

May 14, 1948. The British withdraw. The chief Zionist groups proclaim the new state of Israel, occupying 5,500 square miles of Palestine granted them by the U.N. Next day, troops from seven Arab states invade

Jan. 7, 1949. The war of independence ends, with Israel having gained 30% more territory than originally allocated to it. Transjordan annexes the West Bank. Some 750,000 Arab refugees have fled from Israel to neighborine states.

July 26, 1956. Under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal. An agreement with the Soviet Union has already provided Egypt with large quantities of arms. Nasser repeatedly threatens Israel.

Oct. 26, 1956. Operating under a secret pact with Britian and France, Israeli armies overrun the Sinai Penisual. Franco-British forces move in to "protect" the Suez Canal. Under U.S. and Soviet pressure, Britain and France soon withdraw, and Israel public out nearly a year later. A U.N. force is installed to guard the Egyptian-Israeli border.

May 19, 1967. After convincing the U.N. that it should withdraw its force from the Sinai, Egypt blockades the Gulf of Aqaba, closing a key Israeli shipping route, and moves its troops to the Israeli border.

June 5-10, 1967. Fearing attack, Israel strikes first. In just six days, it seizes the Sinai Peninsula, Syria's Golan Heights and all of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem.

Nov. 22, 1967. The U.N. Security Council unanimously adopts Resolution 242, calling for recognition of Israel's sovereignty but also for withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territory and for settlement of the Palestine refugee problem. Israel holds on to conquered territories.

July 1972. Anwar Sadat, who became Egyptian President after the death of Nasser in 1970, clashes with the Soviets and ousts 20,000 advisers.

Oct. 6, 1973. Egypt attacks across the Suez Canal on Yom Kippur she Syrian troops attack the Colan Heights Israel counterntacks reach to within 20 miles of Damascus and across the Suz into Egypt. Heavy losses on both sides. The oil-producing states announce a cutoff of exports to nations supporting Israel, and oil prices soon quadruple. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger finally negotiates accessed from Nov. 11.

Sept. 4, 1975. Two years of negotiations led by Kissinger shuttling between capitals finally produce a truce agreement, signed in Geneva, that results in Israeli withdrawals from a strip of the Sinai.

May 17, 1977. Menachem Begin, a former guerrilla leader, wins a victory over the long dominant Labor Party, forms a conservative coalition.

Nov. 19, 1977. Sadat flies to Jerusalem and tells the Knesset that Egypt is ready to make peace but Israel must return Arab lands.

Sept. 17, 1978. The Camp David conference, called by President Carter, ends after 13 days of negotiation by Carter, Sadat and Begin. The three leaders sign agreements on a "framework for peace".

March 5, 1979. Carter announces that he will fly to the Middle East in search of peace.

Nation

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

A Soothing Touch of Realism

The President has abundoned another piece or two of that image of himself as the barefoot boy with smile. That may be one of the best signals yet for his troubbel deadwish. Along with his Bible, he carried to the Middle East a most income to the historia dedies. He displayed an eloquence that most income has resolutely choked. He got tired, irritated, frightened. He showed it all, a soothing touch of realism that has rarely been allowed. And in his success, caution and true humility replaced visions of the millennium and interviews with the network anchormed.

STREAM THE INTERVAL ASSESSMENT OF THE ASSESSMENT

If neiped more than those seminors on main relation.

A few days before Carter decided on his odyssey, he talked late one night with guests about his deepest worry—Israel was isolating itself in an increasingly hostile world. It had no other powerful friend besides the U.S., Carter



The U.S. aircraft carrier Constellation, dispatched to the Arabian Sea

noted with unusual fervor. Sadat had made a startling gesture for peace and Isreal still quibble. The Arabs were growing more hossile, richer, and they have enormous manpower. Western Europe, thirsting for oil, was irritated, and some of its leaders, like France's Giseard, were downright contemptuous of Israeli behavior. Nobody, continued the President, knew what would happen to American sentiments if another oil crisis developed.

That sense of history lay at the heart of Carter's decision to use the presidential presence as a weight to gently force some concessions from both parties. At the Israeli state dinner the President declared, "We love Israel. But we are not jealous of you. We want you to have other friends."

In his address to the Knesset, Catter displayed a new appreciation for gracelanguage and thought, deciding in those critical circumstances to go beyond himself ("Doubts are the stuff of great decisions, but so are dreams"). Men like Spinoza, whom he had rarely allowed entry into his down-home rhetorics, showed up ("Pacce is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice.

When agreement came at the last edges of hope, the President let the world know with an announcement so low-keyed that it was almost not an announcement. The deed shouted its own message without White House help or hype.

It may be that Jimmy Carter has accumulated a new sensitivity to the other world leaders and their cultures, gained a clearer view of what moves nations and an instinct for the proper moment in which to speak and act. He will need it. He has a way to go to recover the world's confidence.

called for reprisals against the U.S. as well. "This is war," declared Nayef Hawatmeh, leader of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, in demanding the nationalization of all American interests in the Middle East. Demanded another Palestinian leader: "Why don't we toss the oil in Carter's "Why don't we toss the oil in Carter's beginning the page of the control of

Demanded another Palestinian leader: "Why don't we toss the oil in Carter's face? It is our right to use this weapon in defending our cause." The threat of economic revenge understandably chilled many U.S. businessmen and bankers in the region.

n Riyadh, however, there was official silence from the Saudis, who provide about 15% of the oil imported by the U.S. Saudi leaders in the past have expressed opposition to the Camp David summit and to any separate peace agreement between Egypt and Israel, but they have remained a force for moderation in the Middle Fast. Jeddah's newspapers. which generally reflect the rulers' views, sniped at the U.S. position. Al-Madina, for example, accused Carter of trying "to appease Begin" to build political support among U.S. voters. Still more ominously, the Saudis' Princeton-educated Foreign Minister, Prince Saud al Faisal, suggested in an interview with a Lebanese magazine that his government might want to develop friendlier ties with the Soviet Union

Brzezinski's mission this week to Saudi Arabia and Jordan is aimed in great part at calming the Arab anger against the Cairo-Jerusalem pact. The Americans will stress Washington's commitment to a comprehensive peace. A similar message was delivered to Saudi Arabia and Sudan last week by Egyptian Vice President Husny Mubarak, who then went on to Britain, France, West Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia and Rumania to explain Sadat's policies. Sadat has responded to charges that he has abandoned his fellow Arabs by saying: "I have gone as far as I can go. I have done more than any other Arab leader to start the process for the return of Arab lands and the rights of the Palestinians. Let any other Arab leader show how else it can be done and I will

gladly follow him. But it is no easy matter to provide the leadership needed for negotiating a comprehensive Middle East peace. Such leadership requires stamina, virtuosity and the courage to take chances. These are all qualities demonstrated by Carter's performances at the Camp David summit and in his mission to Cairo and Jerusalem. Recognizing that he must devote more time to domestic problems, the President last week said: "I want to get out of the negotiating business." That, however, may be a luxury that neither the nation nor the West can afford. Speedy progress toward a general Middle East settlement has become a geopolitical imperative. And it requires active U.S. diplomacy, often the kind that only a President can personally provide.

"MY HUSBAND DIDN'T WANT ME TO BUY IT. NOW HE THINKS IT'S HIS."

Betsy Novy Ridgewood, N.J.

When Betsy Novy wanted to buy a Volvo station wagon, her husband John tried to steer her to something else.

"Buy an American car," he said. "You'll get a bigger engine, a big car ride." (He himself owned a Cadillac Sedan DeVille.)

Mrs. Novy humored him.

"We spent weeks test driving the cars he thought I should have. I was thoroughly unimpressed."

When Mrs. Novy finally did get her husband to test drive a Volvo wagon, he was very surprised. He liked the handling and respon-

siveness. And even at six-feet, 200 pounds, he found it very comfortable indeed.

"Okay," he told his wife, "if you want it, buy it. After all, it's your car."

"That turned out to be a joke," Mrs. Novy says. "We hadn't had the Volvo wagon a week before he was driving it himself. I'd look out the window and my Volvo would be gone. And his car would still be sitting in the driveway.

"I had a hard time getting him into a Volvo wagon. Now I can't get him out."*

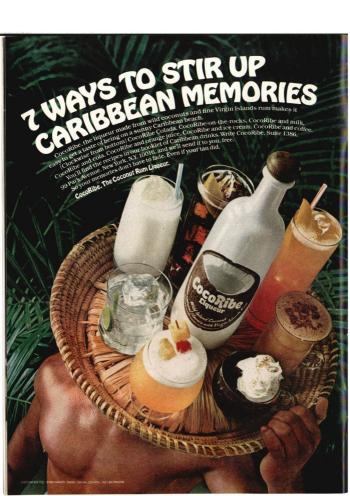
A car you can believe in.

The happy to report that things have become a little easier for Mrs. Novy.









Evolution. Not Revolution

In 14 states, an ERA is already at work

broken families and unisex lavatories? Conflicting predictions have been made for years, while 35 of the necessary 38 states ratified the measure, but the surprising fact is that some of the answers are already in. Since 1970, 14 states* have written equal rights for women into their own state constitutions. Experience in those states, according to a report from the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "provides an important model for ERA implementation on a national level.

Enforcement of the state ERAs varies from negligible in Virginia to considerable in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. But in general, says the Civil Rights Commission, the effect "has been one of substantial strides toward equality," achieved in an orderly

way. Some results: ▶ In Maryland and Pennsylvania, courts have abolished the presumption that all household goods, including jewelry, belong to the husband-part of an overall trend toward recognizing the nonmonetary contributions of the housewife to the family's wealth

▶ In New Mexico, a wife now shares control of family assets One consequence: an improved credit rating for New Mexican women

▶ In Washington, survivors or dependents of female as well as male workers now receive death benefits

▶ In Massachusetts, the state has begun providing women prisoners with rehabilitation programs formerly available only to men

both men and women against sexual assault.

▶ In Pennsylvania, equal application of

antiprostitution laws in Harrisburg resulted in the arrest of 300 male patrons last ▶ In no state have any unisex toilets ap-

peared in public places as a result of the ERA "I lived in Florida before moving to Hawaii, and the misconceptions over ERA were incredible," says Alice Ball, president of the Oahu YWCA. "I wish I could bring those people over to Hawaii to see how well it's working. ERA doesn't solve everything, but it has cleared out some of the undergrowth.

State laws have traditionally formed not just an undergrowth but a lush jungle *Illinois, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Alaska, Hawaii, Maryland, Texas, Washington, Colorado, New Mexico, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Montana.

Would the Equal Rights Amendment of archaic restrictions, limitations and protections based on the 19th century notion of a female as the dependent property of a father or husband. In Georgia, the legislature has stubbornly refused to repeal an 1863 law that defines a woman's legal existence as "merged in the hus-In Arizona, insurance companies may still cancel a divorced woman's insurance (but not a man's) on the grounds of "instability."

Even in states where ERA has been approved, charting a new path is a long process of legislative codification, judicial clarification and-most of all-continu-

▶ In most ERA states, rape laws Divorcee Frances Wasiolek takes care of her children in Philadelphia

have been extended to protect Did equality mean she had to go out and get a job?

ous pressure from women. "Legislatures won't do the job on their own," says Betty Gittes, attorney and member of the Massachusetts commission to revise state laws. "The ERA is not a self-executing law, it's a constant fight." ERA states have not. however, experienced the blizzard of lawsuits that some ERA opponents feared.

he FRA can bring unexpected problems, however. In Pennsylvania, for example, Frances Wasiolek, the divorced mother of three young children, asked a court to award her increased child support. The judge ruled that under the state ERA, she had the responsibility not only to support herself but to contribute to her children's support. "My blood was boiling," says her lawyer, Michael Pepe Jr., who appealed the case. The Pennsylvania superior court agreed with him that

housekeeping has economic value: Wasiolek, who looks forward to the day she can return to her nursing career, was already providing her share of support by staying home and caring for her children. It was a hollow victory for her, since her former husband is now unemployed, and paying less child support, and she is still on welfare. But her landmark case established for the women of Pennsylvania that equality does not mean women will be forced out of their homes into paying jobs.

Women who do work have long been paid less and received fewer benefits, often on the excuse that they might become pregnant. Glenna Lehtonen, now a housewife with two babies in East Templeton. Mass., was one of the three women whose successful suit against Massachusetts Electric established that under the state

MARCO JR ERA, pregnancy is just another biological contingency that must be included in routine disability plans. So far, Mrs. Lehtonen's cash award for several pregnancy-related illnesses has been only \$97. The court decision in her case, however, grants rights that the U.S. Supreme Court, without an ERA, had refused in a similar case.

"The ERA means evolution, not revolution," says one feminist. If the slow, costly and erratic accumulation of court decisions seems barely past the protoplasmic stage of evolution, feminists in ERA states insist that it is only part of a much larger change in attitudes. Shoshana Cardin, head of the Maryland Commission for Women. points to the 28 women serving in the state legislature (eleven of whom are new this term) as evidence of Maryland women's "greater sense of opportunity and equality."

Only five cases have ever tested Colorado's ERA but, says Democratic Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder, "seven years ago, single women were not allowed in some restaurants in

downtown Denver at lunch hour. No women even served on school boards. Now state chairs of both parties are women. There has been tremendous change.

If state ERAs bring such improvements, why is a Federal Rights Amendment needed? Although reform by the states is useful, says U.S. Civil Rights Commissioner Arthur Flemming, it is "plodding, haphazard, and offers no guarantees of ever reaching completion." Besides, state ERAs will not change the more than 800 sections of the U.S. code that the commission identifies as sex biased. Most important, according to the commission's report, women are still far from equal under the law. As many of them see it an Equal Rights Amendment is -based on the evidence in the 14 states that have tried it-the surest way to establish the principle.

BREWED TO TASTE THE SAME ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC.



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document of its kind in
the world.

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Nation



A tranquil view of part of the Jonestown complex in the Guyana jungle during its final, tragic week

"Hurry, My Children, Hurry"

A recording reveals the death throes of the Jim Jones cult

First had come the numbing photos; nearly 900 colorfully clad bodies clustered near a vat of poison. Next, the anguished accounts of the bewidering tragguished accounts of the bewidering tragly four months after they had occurred, the mass deaths at Jonestown in the remoteness of Guyana's jungles took on a new and far more personal dimension. Americans sait in their living rowmary for the property of the Peoples Temple dying

In an inscrabble aftermant to a bizarre event, Nix Clesbroin broadcast a tape recording of the Rev. Jim Jones' pleading with his followers to "die in dignity" by sippring a cyanide-laced drink. A few of the cutties protested. Some grands took up positions around the camp to keep anyone from escaping. Other cuttists, as-sembled around their leader's wicker-chair throne in an open halt, appliauded as Jones implored in a high-pitched, age eaton with it."

Becamene in the schizophrenic Callfornia-based cult, which hacked a spare living out of the Guyana soil while banking millions in server Swiss accounts, had recorded the final 43 minutes of the colony's existence. The tape was found by a U.S. consular employee in Guyana and turned over to the FII. Guyanees officials were given a copy. While both Guyana and the U.S. Justice Department FIII Guyanees officials were given a copy. While both Guyana in the Call of the Call of the Call of the Call for the Call of the Call of the Call of the Call was not with the Call of the Call of the Call was not with the Call of the Call of the Call of the Call was not with stubborn resistance as well as full accurate.

Jones had called his followers together after a two-day visit by California Congressman Leo Ryan. The Temple leader was outraged by the fact that a score of the cultists had asked Ryan to help them escape the colony. Ryan's party and the

defectors had left Jonestown to fly home from a nearby airstrip. Jones knew of a plot by his group to shoot the pilot of one of the visitors' two planes. He was not aware, at first, that Ryan and four others in the party had aiready been ambushed and slain at the airfield.

Jones: We are sitting here, waiting no a powder keg. To sit here and wait for the catastrophe that's going to happen on that airplane—it's going to be a catastrophe. It almost happened here when the Congressman was nearly killed here. IA cultist had attacked Ryan with the congressman was nearly killed a knife. I you can't take off with people's children without expecting a vi-



Jones shortly before the end
Living is much more difficult.

olent reaction. [Some of the defectors were children whose parents had split on whether to flee or stay.] We've been so terribly betrayed.

so letriny's octobers and the solution of these people on the plane is going to shoot the pople on the plane is going to shoot the plut. I know this going to happen. And we better not have any of our children left when it's over. Because they'll parachate in here would retailiate! So you be kind to the children and be kind to seniors, and take the potion like they used to take in a cient Greece, and step over quelty, because we are not committing suicide—it's cause we are not committing suicide—it's

Cultist Christine Miller: Is it too late for Russia? [The colony had considered fleeing to Russia if life became too difficult in Guyana.]

Jones: It's too late. I can't control these people. They've gone with the guns. And it's too late.

Miller: Well, I say let's make an airlift to Russia. I don't think nothing is impossible, if you believe it.

Jones: How are we going to do that? How are you going to airlift to Russia? Miller: Well, I thought they said if we

got in an emergency, they gave you a code to let them know.

Jones: No, they didn't. [Apparently to pacify the woman, Jones said he would

try to check with the Russians, but doubted it would help.] To me death is not a fearful thing. It's living that's cursed. It's not worth living like this.

Miller: I think that there were too few

who left for 1,200 people to give their lives for those people that left.

Jones: Do you know how many left?
Miller: Oh, 20-odd. That's small compared to what's here.

Jones: 20-odd. But what's gonna happen when they don't leave? When they get on the plane and the plane goes down? That plane!! come out of the air. There's no way you fly a plane without a pilot. You think Russia's gonna want us with all this stigma? We had some

Nation

value, but now we don't have any value.

Miller: Well, I don't see it like that.

I mean, I feel like that as long as there's life there's hope.

Jones: Well, everybody dies. I haven't seen anybody yet didn't die. And I like to choose my own kind of death for a change. I'm tired of being tormented to hell. Tired of it. (Applause.)

Miller: But I look at all the babies and I think they deserve to live. Jones: But don't they deserve much

more? They deserve peace.

Miller: I think we all have a right to our own destiny as individuals. And I have a right to choose mine, and everybody else has a right to choose theirs.

Jones: The best testimony we can make is to leave this goddam world. IA fler applause, more argument breaks out in the crowd. Jones voice, remark-blook if the leave the leave the leave the blook if Hold if Hold if Lay down your burdens. Down by the riverside. Shall we lay them down here by the side of Guyana? When they start pranchuting out of the air, they ill shook some of our indicates the leave the

Voices: No! No! No!
Man: I'm ready to go. If you tell us

we have to give our lives now, we're ready; all the rest of the sisters and brothers are with me.

Jones: I've tried to keep this thing from happening. But I now see it's the will of sovereign Being that we lay down our lives in protest against what's been done. If they come after our children, and we give them our children, then our children will suffer forever. [Cultists returning from the airstrip tell Jones that Congressman Ryan has been killed.]

Jones: Please get us some medication.

It's simple, there's no convulsions with it. Just, please get it. Before it's too late. The G.D.F. [Guyanese army] will be here. Get movin', get movin'. Don't be afraid to die. Are you going to separate yourself from whoever shot the Congress-

man? I don't know who shot him.

Voices: No! No! No!

Jones: How many are dead? [One

of the airstrip party reports that others were killed.] Aw, God, Almighty God. It's too late. They're all laying out there dead. Please, can we hasten our medication?

Woman: O.K. There's nothing to worry about. Everybody keep calm and try and keep your children calm. Let the little children in and reassure them. [The children are given the poison first.] They're not crying from pain; it's just a little bitter-tasting.

Jones: It's hard only at first. Living is much, much more difficult. Raising in the morning and not knowing what the night's bringing.

Woman: This is nothing to cry about. This is something we could all rejoice about. I'm looking at so many people cry-

ing, I wish you would not cry. (Applause.) Joness Please, for God's sake, let's get on with it. We've lived as no other people lived and loved. We've had as much of this world as you're gonna get. Let's just be done with it. I want to see you go. They can take me and do what they want, whatever they want to do. I don't want to see you go through this hell no more. No

Man: The way the children are laying there now, I'd rather see them lay like that than to see them have to die like the Jews did, which was pitiful. Like Dad (the cultists called Jones "Dad") said, when they come in, they're going to massacre our children. And the ones that they take cap-

ture, they're gonna just let them grow up and be dummies. And not grow up to be a person like the one and only Jim Jones. [Applause.]

Jones: Let's get gone. Let's get gone. We tried to find a new beginning. But it's too late. I don't know who killed the Congressman. But as far as I'm concerned I killed him. He had no business coming. I tald bim part to come.

Lay down your life with dignity. Don't lay down with tears and agony. It's just stepping over into another plane. [Crying and screaming in background.] Stop this hysterics. This is not the way for people who are socialistic Communists to die. Children, it's just something to put you to rest. Oh, God. [Continued cryins.]

Mother, mother, please. Don't do this. Lay down your life with your child. Free at last. Keep your emotions down. Childdren, it will not hurt. If you be quiet. [Music in background. Children still crying] I don't care how many screams you hear, death is a million times preferable to be spend more days in this life. If you knew what was ahead of you, you'd be glad to be stepping over conight.

I call on you to quit exciting your children. Stop this nonsense. Hurry, my children, hurry, Quickly, Quickly, Quickly, No more pain. No more pain. All they do is take a drink to go to sleep. That's what death is, sleep. Have trust. You have to step across. This world was not our home.

The tape ends in a long period of silence broken only by mournful music that is made more eerie as the tape recorder's batteries seem to run down. The sound stops before the crack of the pistol shot that killed Jim Jones, presumably fired by his own hand.

Following the Flock

he had called the press conference, he said, to charge that the U.S. Gowernment was withholding a tape recording that would show that no one had cocreed the members of the Peoples Temple colony in Guyana into killing themselves. On the contrary, contended Michael Prokes, 32, who had been one of Jim Jones's top aides, the tape would prove that "they chose to die because it was an act of courage and a commitment to their beliefs."

Eight newsmen crowded into the motel room in Modesto. Calif., to hear Prokes read his statement. A former TV reporter, he had gone to Guyana with Jones in August 1977. Prokes had fled Jonestown just before the mass deaths. While carrying some \$500,000 of the Temple's cash through the jungle, he and two others were arrested by Guyana police. They claimed they had been ortered to the state of the stat

At his press conference, Prokes spoke for 25 minutes, defending Jones and insiting that the tape would show that the followers had gone serenely to their deaths. Then he walked into an adjoining bathroom, closed the door, placed a Smith & Wesson. 38 against his right temple and killed himself.

Next day, when NBC-TV broadcast portions of the tape, it became clear that the mass suicides were not entirely voluntary. If Prokes had known that the tapes were about to become public, said his tearful mother, "he would, at the least, have waited" before joining his fellow cultists in death.



Loyal Cultist Michael Prokes



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Nation

Probing the Peanut Puzzle

Did Billy Carter cook the books of the family warehouse?

ou know what the problem is? Yankees can't keep up with a fast-talk-

ing Georgia boy."
With that burst of regional pride, Jimmy Hayes, 32, tried to explain last week why a visiting reporter from the Washington Post, way up north, had interviewed him at length and then printed such a story. Hayes had good reason to be groping for an explanation. The Post had quoted him as saying that he and Bhit of the printed with the printed wi

Hayes' differing interpretation of what Billy had done only further muddied an already murky situation. Since last fall, federal investigators have been examining the Carters' business records and the N.B.G.'s loan accounts to see if any illegal activity was involved in handling loans of more than \$4.6 million to the Carter business. The loans were arranged by then N.B.G. President Bert Lance, the close friend whom Jimmy Carter later made Director of the Office of Management and Budget in Washington. One question was whether any of the funds had been used illegally in Jimmy Carter's campaign for the presidency. So far, no evidence has turned up that any money from the loans found its way into Carter's campaign or that he was involved in any bookkeeping irregularities

Although a dozen Fill agents were assigned in January to probe the circumstances surrounding the bank loans, they bypassed Hayse until he had given a series of taped interviews to the Washington Post, which printed them last week. The Allanta Fill chief immediately got a hotwire telephone call from Washington. Hours later, a pair of agents were on their way to interview the talkative source.

For eleven months in 1975 and 1976, Hayes worked for a collateral-monitoring firm that checked on the supply of peanuts held in the Carter warehouse. The peanuts served as collateral for the bank loans. As the peanuts were shipped out of the warehouse, Hayes was supposed to make sure that fixed portions of the loan were paid back to N.B.G.

Hayes told the reporter that frequently, after peanuts had left the warehouse, Billy Carter would put off signing the checks to the bank. Then, to cover up the lateness of payments, Hayes said, he and Carter would change the dates on warehouse release documents and date checks for weekends and holidays.

In a transcript of the *Post* interview, Hayes told Reporter Ted Gup: "That's what I call 'kitin' money.' "

Gup: You call it ...
Haves: Kitin' money

Gup: Gotten money?

Hayes: Kitin'. K-I-T-E-I-N-G [sic].
You know, like writing a bad check and

beating it to the bank.

In addition, the Post quoted Hayes as saying that Carter had concealed a

\$500,000 deficit in payments on the N.B.G. loan. But the day after the interview appeared. Haves said that the *Post* had

peared, Hayes said that the Post had asked him a series of hypothetical questions and then misinterpreted his answers. Said Hayes: "Nothing was done wrong. There was no scheme or backdating or negative balance." The Post stuck by its story. Billy Carter was unavailable for

an outside agency to expedite collections and payments.

Jimmy Hayes' statements prompted Republicans on Capitol Hill to increase pressure on the Justice Department to appoint a special prosecutor to get to the bottom of both Lance's activities and the tom of both Lance's activities and the Links in Government Act, noted Mary-land's Senator Charles Mathias, authorizes the appointment of an outsider to handle such explosive issues. Presidential Candidate Robert Dole called for the appointment, as did Senate Minority Lead-to-pin the property of the Willey Household to pin the race for the White Household to pin the ra

The man who would choose the special prosecutor was still considering his decision, although he clearly began with serious reservations about the idea. Attorney General Griffin Bell, trying to raise morale in the Justice Department, told



Carter at home in happier days among the peanuts in the business he ran A rising demand from Republicans for a special prosecutor.

comment; he was confined to Long Beach (Calif.) Naval Medical Center for treatment of alcoholism. When questioned six months ago by an Atlanta grand jury about the loans, he took the Fifth Amendment a number of times.

Charles Kirbo, the Alanta attorney and old family friend who is trustee for President Carter's majority interest in the peanut basiness, also denied any warehouse records do reflect that there were delays in billing and collecting accounts receivable and transmitting the checks to the National Bank of Georgia. A special committee of the bank's direction of the control of the con

Republicans that he favored having career prosecutors handle such cases. Bell argued that it was poor practice to name an outsider every time a key figure's integrity was challenged on a sensitive issue.

Justice Department officials also pointed out that a newcomer would have to start again on the Lance investigation, which has already taken 18 months, longer than it took the Watergate special prosecutors to investigate and indict Nixon Administration officials.

Still, the political pressures might induce Bell to change his mind. At week's end the Justice Department acknowledged that it had begun to sound out some lawyers about taking the post. Bell has promised that he would decide this week whether an insider at Justice or an outsider would look into the financial affairs of his old friends from Plains.



Falling Out of Love

Talk about bailing out of a marriage! When Lynda Ballard, 31, a veteran of 750 parachute jumps, learned that Husband Gene, 34, who has made 1,800 skydives, wanted to end their 15-year marriage, she refused to accept the divorce papers. "Hell no!" she said. "You'll have to give them to me in free fall."

So on a sunny Saturday the couple, along with their lawyer, Steve Schlosser, and six of their closest friends, leaped out of three planes flying 10,500 ft. above the airport in Antioch, Calif. The plan called for Gene to hand over the papers to Schlosser, who would in turn relay though the couple of the coupl

Everything worked out fine. Although Gene missed his hookup with Schlosser, he did manage to pass the documents fanily to his plummeting wife. Three mining "Almost everything in our marriage was done around skydving, so the diworce in the air seemed the natural thing to do," Lynda explained. Watching ti all from the ground was Gene's bride to be. Lorant Ahen. She jumps out of airplaines too.

Americana

Omen of Spring

Let the swallows come back to Capitran to signal the arrival of spring. Hinckley, Ohio, has something that may him the better but certainly is different: the annual return of the buzzards. The great cutties are suffered to the standard of the buzzards and the best of the situation. Buzzard Day is March 15. On the following Sunday, the Chamber of Commerce celebrates by hidding at breakfast to the support of t

Last week, however, the citizenry was concerned. March 15th was fast approaching, and no buzzard had come to call. On the appointed day, 30 members of the Buzzard Club who had traveled from St. Louis to celebrate the event anxiously scanned the skies. They were well fortified against the cold and wore



yellow cardboard beaks on their faces. Suddenly Park Ranger Bud Burger, peering through high-powered binoculars, spotted a distinctive shape soaring high over a snow-covered field. Moments lattree about a mile away. There was jubilation among the onlookers. If the buzzards had come to Hinckley, could spring be far behind?

What's in a Name?

He used to be known as Robert E. Lee, which had a certain ring, but now he is called Roberto E. Leon, which has certain advantage—or so it seemed for a white. A retired Navy englant, Leon County, Md., outside Washington, When Lee took the Hispanic name Leon, he asked the county to grant him preferential status under its affirmative-action program. Leon noted that he had a Spanish considering the switch for years, but he does confessed. "What's wrong with be-

ing an opportunist?"
Plenty, decided the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which oversees federal antidiscrimination programs. Last week the EEOC frostily in-

formed Montgomery County that it would be "an abuse of federal law and regulations" to accept such a name change as a basis for conferring minority status. The county promptly launched an investigation into its whole affirmative-action program, and Roberto E. Leon is still being treated by his employers as though he were named Robert E. Leo.

Animal Farm

When police closed in on the home of a suspected truck hijacker in Franklin, Mass., last week, they were greeted by:

▶ A lion

► A chattering chimpanzee

 Five barking dogs, each tied to a tree The cops arrested Leonard Birenbach anyway. Quickly.

White-Collared

Casting about for an expert to lecture its investigators on white-collar crime. California's department of justice hired a man with firsthand experience: Joseph L. Bentz Jr., who had avoided prosecution for his part in embezzling millions by agreeing to testify for the authorities. By all accounts. Bentz. 44, was an excellent instructor. "He was fascinating," recalls Roy G. Leyrer, who ran the program. "He was very willing to discuss all aspects of the con game. I wish I could get a few more guys like him. Policemen and other investigators came from all over the country to hear him.

Now Bentz's two-year tenure in the classroom has come to a sudden and inglorious end; he has been arrested in Oakland on 16 felony warrants charging, of



course, white-collar crimes. Bentz, a tractor salesman, is accused of bilking purchasers and bouncing checks.

Bentz's new scrape with the law has not dampened Leyrer's enthusiasm for the course or for its teacher. Says he: "Law enforcement needs input from these types of people. You can't live in an ivory tower." Would Leyrer take Bentz back

again? "Id certainly consider it." said the law official. Bentz's right-could year ecould year. So we have a so we want of the comman consumer that ecould year ecould year. It was not want of the the total year ecould year ecould year ecould year. It was not year ecould year ecould year ecould year. It was not year ecould year ecould year. Year ecould year ecould year ecould year. Year ecould year ecould year ecould year.

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IRAN

A Nation on Trial

Bazargan lectures his mentor, and women march for their rights

he Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, 78, and Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, 71, had another showdown last week. Following days of equal-rights demonstrations by thousands of angry Iranian women and more secret trials that resulted in summary executions, Bazargan took to the air waves for an hourlong television and radio address that spared no one, least of all Khomeini, the acknowledged leader of the Iranian revolution. The Prime Minister denounced the secret trials as "unreligious and inhuman," charging that they made the new government appear "shameful" to the rest of the world. Describing his sessions in Oum with the Ayatullah, Bazargan said he had told Khomeini, "You are making us desperate. At least you could consult us before you issue orders

Rather like a schoolmaster dressing down unruly students, Bazargan dismissed the women's demonstrations as a lot of fuss over "a one-word issue" (the chador, or all-enveloping veil), and admonished students to go back to school and factory workers to stop their agitation. In an emotional appeal for a return to national sanity, Bazargan said, "We have passed a number of mountains, but we still have not reached the

promised land." No more than two hours after Bazargan's address, another kangaroo court was in session, and the prisoner was an international figure. The Komiteh, a group of activists around Khomeini who wield more effective power in Iran than the government, brought former Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida from his cell in Qasr prison for a trial before an Islamic revolutionary court. Hoveida, who served as Prime Minister for almost 13 years under the Shah, was by far the most important official of the old regime to stand trial for his life. Ironically, he was jailed by the Shah late last year on charges of corruption, in what was an obvious attempt to mollify the Shah's critics.

Though the trial began after midnight, about 200 members of the "general public" crammed into the small, whitewashed room. Hoveida sat on a chair in front of the court, which consisted of a mullah and two Iranian judges from the now disbanded secular courts Composed but groggy because he had taken a sleeping pill earlier, Hoveida looked around in amazement and said



Blindfolded suspect is led to Qasr prison



Former Prime Minister Hoveida Day or night made no difference

he had been promised an afternoon session. The presiding judge replied: "Day or night makes no difference, because this is a revolutionary court.'

Hoveida, an orchid fancier who once wore a fresh blossom daily in his lapel. apologized to the court for his disheveled appearance, adding quietly, "But of course it wouldn't have made any difference. These are the only clothes I have." He asked permission to remove a large name card pinned to his chest. The presiding judge agreed, saying, "You don't need an identification tag." The judge then read a 17-point indictment; each of the charges carried the death penalty. They ranged from general corruption to spying for the West and smuggling heroin from France. But the most chilling and unanswerable accusation suggested a 20th century Inquisition: Hoveida was charged with "entering into battle against God and his emissaries." The court adjourned at 3:30 a.m.; it was one of the few revolutionary trials that had not ended in an immediate death sentence

ppalled by news of the trial, Bazargan once again journeyed the 80 miles to Khomeini's headquarters in Qum and this time apparently won his point. A Khomeini edict broadcast over national radio from the holy city in effect granted an eleventh-hour reprieve to Hoveida by calling a halt to all trials in Tehran and stopping summary executions throughout the country. New regulations governing the Islamic revolutionary courts must now be drawn up by the Revolutionary Council, the supreme governing body of the revolution. Coming in the wake of Bazargan's tough speech, which had won approval from many Iranians yearning for stability, the Ayatullah's edict on the courts almost certainly will enhance the authority of the Prime Minister and his struggling

The secret trials, which by last week had resulted in 62 executions, had raised serious doubts about the direction the revolution was taking. In Geneva, the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ). once among the Shah's sharpest critics. strongly condemned the trials. Said Niall MacDermot, secretary-general of the ICJ: It is deplorable that those who overthrew a regime which they rightly criticized for denying fair trials to its prisoners, should now try their suspects under such wholly arbitrary procedures.



The battle of the veil: thousands of Iranian women demonstrating for equal rights in downtown Tehran



Extremist (with knife) at a protest march
"You don't want chadors, you want this!"

The trials were perhaps the most alarming evidence of a harsh and unbending orthodoxy that Khomeini and his Islamic Revolutionary Council apparently wish to impose upon Iran. Probably no group of Iranians would have more to lose in a doctrinaire Islamic republic than the country's large number of educated wor en. Their emancipation began in 1936. when the Shah's father, Reza Shah. decreed the lifting of the veil. In 1963 women got the right to vote, and in 1975 the Family Protection Law not only gave women the right to divorce their husbands but allowed them to challenge their husbands' divorce actions, a major departure from traditional Islamic practice. Khomeini's revocation of the Family Protection Law, his abolition of coeducational schools, and his diatribe against "naked women" in government offices confirmed the worst fears of many Iranian women, and for the second week they took to the streets by the thousands in protest.

Variously dressed in jeans, high heels and the latest Western fashions (there was hardly a chador in sight), 10,000 to 15,000 women paraded daily in Tehran in the first effective demonstration of opposition to Khomeini. The Avatullah's lieutenants backed down on the issue of dress. Said Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Amir Entezam last week: "We have merely made suggestions. We have not asked women to wear the chador or any specific clothing." After the government retreated, so did religious extremists who had earlier launched knife-wielding attacks on men cordoning the feminists' line of march. One group of male demonstrators, seeing some women standing at the windows of a Tehran office, exposed themselves, shouting, "You don't want chadors, you

The revolt of the women gained support from feminists overseas, including Simone de Beauvoir and Kate Millett (Szemone de Beauvoir and Kate Millett (Szeual Politics). Though largely unknown to the people she was supporting, Ms. Millett flew to Iran to march with her sisters, and described the Ayatullah as "a male chauvinist." The government responded by threatening to expel her. Elsewhere, feminists in New York, San Francisco, Washington and Paris rallied in support of their Iranian sisters.

The bold resistance displayed by the Iranian women could act as a catalyst for other groups in Iran that may be concerned about civil rights in a fundamen-



A mullah tries to calm militant women Suddenly, orthodoxy was under attack.

talist Islamic republic. Iran's press, for example, was under pressure from selfappointed religious groups that went from paper to paper outlining how they thought stories should be handled. Deputy Prime Minister Entezam went even further last week when he announced the imposition of censorship on TV film and news pictures by foreign media. Said he: "We can't allow film to be taken that shows the revolution in a bad light." Obviously, Bazargan's struggle to establish a government that is not only effective but aware of civil liberties has a long way to go. His successful confrontation with Khomeini last week was at least a step in the right di"MERIT is as good as I've ever smoked, and I've been "Merit has a stronger "I tried other low tar cigarettes, and they tasted like cardboard. I tried Merit and tobacco flavor than the other smoking for 60 years." low tar cigarettes, and that's it's the best tasting low tar why I smoke them." -Mr. Thomas E. High cigarette I've tried." -Mrs. Edward Cowal 44I think anyone who's a menthol smoker should try telling all my friends moke about Merit! I "Just wanted to let you know my husband and I ar them. Merit Menthols have a they're the best light, fresh taste. They're a rette that is low in tar very impressed with 'Men good tasting cigarette." cigarettes," er produced!" -Mrs. Colleen Vaneps 48ome low tar cigarettes "Thank you for g taste like the filter. You get y're better than our tobacco flavor in Merit." brands, Outstanding -Mrs. Elizabeth Burn Worcester, Massachuset enjoy." 01.99 -Mr. Glenn P. Mugler Barasota, Florida "After trying eight or nine different brands, I settled "I hav ied others and I like on Merit," cigarett wit Menthol of, an "Now I am convinced Merit Menthols are the cigarettes for me. It's nice to be satisfied!!" -Mrs. D. G. N "Merit cigarettes are everything they claime and that is why I'm st with 'em." "They're the I will smoke. that's the my thing." to have LOW TARLENRICHED FLAVOR other low 66M t I've Flai the real ad -Mrs. Ardath Wepner erit. We just get dif rit is the only cigarette find that has the flavor avve trie a higher tar cigarette but felt they were too a low in tar." -Mr. Larry A. Handel I wanted." 4I tried other brands, but I like the taste of Merit "Well, they're probably the Menthol," best cigarette I've ever VOUP MELL ! -Mrs. W. A. Kahl smoked." have never letter," 41 tried them all but could Kings: 8 mg"tar," 0.6 mg nicotine not find one that could satisfy

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World



namese relaxing near a lake in downtown Hanoi after military drill

Hail the Conquering Heroes

China withdraws its troops—and Viet Nam mobilizes

As far as China was concerned, the war was over and China had won. In the mountainous southern provinces of Yunnan and Guangxi (Kwangsi) red and gold bunting festooned commune buildings, farmers plunked merrily on classical instruments, and firecrackers exploded in celebration. Divisions of the People's Liberation Army were marching home, and they were hailed as conquering heroes. In Viet Nam, the Hanoi Government proposed peace talks to begin this Friday in the war-ravaged town of Lang Son, and it seemed likely China would agree to negotiate. Earlier in the week, however, Hanoi radio announced that the nation was going on a "war footing," and gave the order for all able-bodied men and women to take part in daily two-hour military drills

In Peking late last week, Chairman Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng) announced that the Chinese withdrawal had been completed. Hanoi, however, contended that Chinese troops still occupied sections of one Vietnamese border province. This point was supported by diplomats in the region who felt Peking wanted to maintain control of what had been "disputed territory" along the 735-mile frontier

As the Sino-Vietnamese conflict developed, it was a war in which epithets were more evident than shells and bullets. Last week, as usual, the Vietnamese were firing most of the rhetoric. Hanoi charged that Peking's soldiers had committed numerous atrocities during the invasion. Said a Vietnamese Foreign Ministry spokesman: "They broke people's skulls with gun butts, stabbed people with spears, beheaded them, chopped people into portions, threw hand grenades into people's shelters, rounded up people and then opened fire on them." In one hamlet near Lang Son, the spokesman charged, seven children were taken from their beds and chopped into pieces, which were then thrown into a courtvard. In the Ba Xat district, he said, Peking's troops raped Vietnamese women workers before sending them to China as captives.

The widely broadcast reports of Peking's cruelty, never verified by outsiders, were presumably designed both to discredit the Chinese and to bolster morale at home during Viet Nam's mobilization campaign. Hanoi radio announced that many children and elderly people had been evacuated from the capital, and that those unable to take part in the

rifle drills must study first aid or repair damaged houses. The muscular vigilance was puzzling, especially after Hanoi announced that it was willing to negotiate with Peking once the Chinese had completely withdrawn their forces. Moreover, there was some reason to fear that if fighting resumed in the area it might involve Laos rather

than Viet Nam directly.

Last week the Hanoi-controlled government in Laos, which has generally managed to stay on good terms with Peking, charged that the Chinese, in addition to massing troops along its border, had sent "commandos and spies" to infiltrate the country. Since 1962 Chinese engineers and troops have been constructing a network of 470 miles of roads in three northern Laotian provinces. The Chinese had already withdrawn more than three-fourths of the original work force of 20,000, but the Laotians now have ordered the remaining 3,000 to leave immediately. Presumably Vientiane was acting on behalf of Hanoi, which feared that the Chinese might attack Viet Nam through Laos

The limited extent of the Chinese invasion of Viet Nam, as well as the fact that Peking's forces had trouble coping with the Vietnamese defenders, was reassuring evidence to political leaders in some Southeast Asian capitals that China herself is not really a menace. Said a Washington analyst: "These countries want China to be effective, but not too effective." In fact, they have shown more anxiety about Viet Nam. The Chinese may also have been successful in convincing some neighbors that the Vietnamese and their Soviet allies are unreliable. During a visit to India, Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin failed to persuade the nonaligned government of Prime Minister Morarii Desai to brand the Chinese as aggressors or to recognize the new Cambodian government of Hanoi's puppet, Premier Heng Samrin. While no nation publicly supported China's invasion of Viet Nam, neither has any country outside the Soviet bloc recognized Heng Samrin's Cambodia regime. For Moscow, the silence suggests that its campaign to enlist international support against Peking has not worked.

Spelling Chinese

Beginning this week, TIME will adopt the Pinyin (Chinese for phonetic spelling) system of transcribing Chinese names of people and places into English. Earlier this year, Peking officially changed to Pinyin spellings in its foreign-language publications; U.S. Government agencies, as well as many newspapers, magazines and news services in America. Europe and Australia have subsequently decided to fol-

Pinvin is a somewhat less cumbersome method of rendering Chinese

words in alphabetic form than the traditional Wade-Giles system, which employs apostrophes and hyphens. Examples: Hua Guofeng instead of Hua Kuofeng; Deng Xiaoping instead of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Initially, TIME plans to use the Pinyin spellings with the conventional Wade-Giles rendering in parentheses. There will be exceptions. Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong in Pinyin) and other familiar figures of history will not appear in their Pinyin form. Nor will such widely used place names as Peking (Beijing in Pinyin), Canton (Guangzhou), Tibet (Xizang) or Hong Kong (Xianggang). China will remain China, and not become Zhongguo

FRANCE

Steel, Surgery and Survival

The Premier's "new revolution" provokes an outcry

Raymond Barre made the rashest of vows when President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing appointed him Premier of France in August 1976. He promised to cure the country's inflation-racked economy in three years. As that deadline approaches, the roly-poly former economics professor has become the target of increasingly heavy fire from trade unions. the leftist opposition and even the largest party in his own coalition, the Gaullists. Last week, at the insistence of Gaullist Leader Jacques Chirac, the French parliament was called into emergency session for the first time since World War II. Although Barre has succeeded in stabilizing the franc by turning France's trade deficit into a surplus, he has been unable to lower inflation, currently 10.2% annually. Moreover, his policies led to a one-third increase in unemployment, which last month reached a new high of 1,284,800, or 5.8% of the work force

Unemployment is not a new problem for France (see chart), but it has become a burning political issue. The spark was Barre's announcement last December that 21,000 workers in the governmentcontrolled steel industry would be laid off over the next two years. The news provoked fury in the two regions most affected: the north, around Lille, and Lorraine. Strikes and demonstrations have become regular occurrences, punctuated by occasional outbursts of violence. Highways have been blocked, and government officials have been locked up in their offices by angry steelworkers. In the ugliest incident so far, seven riot policemen were wounded by rifle fire two weeks ago as they tried to control a rock-hurling mob in the town of Denain.

Barre's steel measures are part of what has been dubbed "the new French revolution." That is the Premier's attempt to reduce the government's traditionally massive interference in the country's economic affairs. Though railways, utilities and many industries have long been nationalized. Barre is insisting that stateowned companies turn a profit. His model: West Germany's free-enterpriseoriented economy. Barre's government has already dismantled an archaic system of price controls that contributed to inflation because it eliminated incentives to lower prices in a competitive market. Now the Premier wants to curb the flow of public funds into deficit-ridden industries, and he has urged managers to streamline their operations by laying off workers if necessary

Steel has been the key money-losing sector. French steel companies, which have been kept going by uneconomic government subsidies, were not prepared for



Premier Raymond Barre addressing rally
A target of increasingly heavy fire.

the crisis that resulted from a worldwide decline in demand, accompanied by aggressive competition from Japan and the Third World. While a French worker that the same job is done in Germany in 79 hours and in Japan in 59 hours. That is partly because French plants have antiquated machinery requiring greater manpower. A more productive steel industry. Vaul for Frances. "Sa matter of survival for Frances." Sa matter of sur-

Ithough surgery was clearly called for, A Barre's professorial temperament, combined with France's traditionally poor labor relations, has complicated the task. The West German steel industry had relatively little trouble gradually eliminating 100,000 jobs over the past 15 years because labor unions were consulted all along the way. But Barre's reforms were put forward as nonnegotiable. and he has refused to respond to union outcries. To be sure, the government has offered a variety of benefits to ease the pain: retraining programs, retirement at age 55, and severance pay of \$11,700 for workers who quit voluntarily. The government has also tried to attract new industries to the areas where layoffs have been most severe

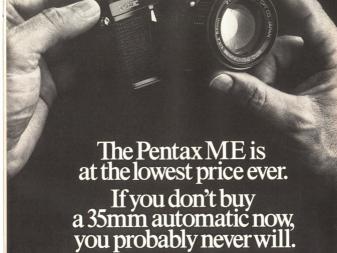
Barre's attempts to follow the West German example have provoked an alarming resurgence of anti-German rhetoric. Michel Debré, who served as De Gaulle's Premier from 1959 to 1962, blamed France's economic troubles on the European Community, which is "too easily manipulated by our German competiors—I say competitors, not partners." The Communists have been even more demagogic. "What the Germans couldn't get in 1914 and 1939 they are conquering today," complained Jean Gillet, a member of the Communist-dominated COT

union.* Despite growing political opposition, the Premier is in no immediate danger of losing his job. Chirac, who had convened the emergency parliamentary session in order to embarrass Giscard, was quickly outmaneuvered last week. When the Socialists and Communists called for a noconfidence motion against the coalition government, Chirac was reluctantly forced to support Barre. The leftists. whose family quarrels contributed heavily to their defeat in last year's elections, are still divided. The Communist and Socialist parties could not agree even on the wording of a no-confidence motion, with the result that the two parties produced their own motions

Nonetheless, the French people show title confidence in Barre. The Premier got a 36% approval rating in a poll last week, a drop of 9% in the past year. Clearly, Barre's tough economic remedies will have to be carried out with more sensitivity and imagination if he is to avoid fulfiling a prophecy by Communist Leader Georges Marchais: The people, if not the partiament, will one day reject Barre's

*The public disagrees. According to a poll published by the newsmagazine L 'Express, 33% of Frenchmen consider West Germany their "best friend." The U.S. is in second place with 22%, followed by Belgium (20%) and Britain (16%).





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Brigitte Seebacher in France last month and Willy Brandt after his return to Bonn

Brandt's Breakup

Scandal for a tarnished hero

or nearly two decades, the jutting jaw and ruggedly handsome features of Willy Brandt symbolized West Germany's rebirth from the ashes of the Third Reich. As the embattled mayor of West Berlin from 1957 to 1966, Brandt helped guide his divided city safely past a series of crises provoked by the Communist East. Later, as Chancellor of West Germany, he boldly initiated Ostpolitik, which eased tensions with the East and earned him the Nobel Peace Prize. Most memorable for Europeans was his 1970 pilgrimage to the Warsaw ghetto memorial, where he dropped to his knees in a dramatic expression of grief over Hitler's Holocaust

In the past five years, while Brandt's reputation abroad remained untarnished, the radiance of his image has dimmed in West Germany. It faded even further last week with the announcement that Brandt. 65, and his Norwegian-born second wife, Rut, 58, were "taking legal steps to dissolve their marriage by mutual consent. Straitlaced Germans were saddened by the breakup of Brandt's 30-year marriage. but not terribly surprised. Rut had stood at her husband's side through a host of personal and political crises, including several of his transient flings with other women. In an interview last week with the magazine Stern, she attributed the impending divorce to "not just one reason but an accumulation of things." The main thing seemed to be Brandt's six-monthlong involvement with Brigitte Seebacher, 32, a political assistant. Fumed former State Secretary Egon Bahr: "At Brandt's

age, what nonsense

The divorce was the latest in a series of misfortunes that have bedeviled Brandt since 1974, when a close personal aide, Günter Guillaume, was arrested as a Communist spy. Not only had Guillaume passed on NATO secrets to East Germany, but he had also sabotaged Brandt personally by collecting evidence of indiscretions in the Chancellor's private life. Brandt was forced to resign. Guillaume was later sentenced to 13 years in prison for espionage

A hard drinker who often suffered bouts of melancholy, Brandt grew increasingly depressed. He kept the title of chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SPD). but the popularity of his successor. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, further eroded Brandt's power within his own party. Still, he remained active as SPD chairman and president of the Socialist International until he suffered a heart attack in 1978.

Rumors of marital troubles surfaced when Brandt went to a private clinic in the south of France, while his wife stayed behind in Bonn. Accompanying Brandt was Seebacher, an ardent SPD activist who had written speeches for him and acted as his appointments secretary until his illness. At the French clinic where Brandt was recuperating, she helped him to stop smoking and to limit his drinking to one glass of wine a day. When Brandt reappeared in West Germany two weeks ago. looking more fit and cheerful, he told friends he intended to marry Seebacher. Said he: "I am determined to live as I want for the few years ahead of me.

SOUTH AFRICA

Rhoodie's Story

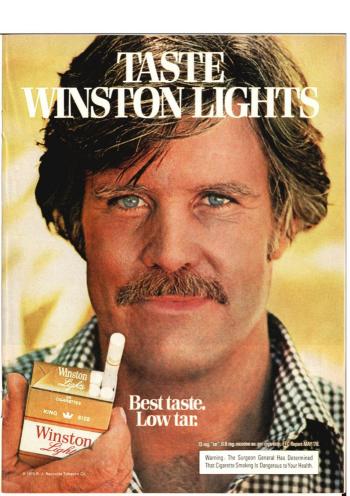
What is Pretoria's "John Dean" up to?

he National Party government of Prime Minister P.W. Botha is sitting nervously atop a scandal that steadily grows worse and worse. Playing the John Dean role, in this South African version of Watergate, is Eschel Rhoodie, 45. the former Secretary of Pretoria's Department of Information. Rhoodie, who is now living in self-imposed exile in Europe and South America, was in charge of a multimilliondollar slush fund that his department used to secure favorable publicity for South Africa's policies in both the foreign and domestic press. To accomplish this end at home. Rhoodie has charged that the government of former Prime Minister (now State President) John Vorster clandestinely-and illegally-poured some \$37 million into an avidly pro-government tabloid, The Citizen. In the U.S., according to stories published by the Rand Daily Mail of Johannesburg, the slush fund was used to finance an equally illegal but unsuccessful attempt in 1974 to purchase the Washington Star, some four years before the paper was sold to Time Inc

Rhoodie contends that at least six Cabinet ministers, including P.W. Botha. knew about the information department's connection with The Citizen, as well as its role in other secret projects. All the officials concerned have denied this allegation, but the scandal has already led to the resignation of one ranking Cabinet member: former Minister of Information Cornelius P. Mulder, who was Rhoodie's supervisor. Some observers believe Vorster must surely have known about the slush fund; there are also suspicions that his awareness of the impending scandal may have been an important reason behind his sudden retirement as Prime Minister last September.

Rhoodie is now hinting that he has a lot more to talk about. Among the rumored topics: bribery involving U.S. and other foreign officials and disclosure of Pretoria's role in backing the Biafran rebels during the Nigerian civil war. Two weeks ago, Rhoodie had a rendezvous in Paris with General Hendrik van den Bergh, 64, former head of South Africa's notorious Bureau of State Security (BOSS), and an industrialist named Josias van Zvl. 31. who offered Rhoodie a sales job in one of his companies. What the two men wanted in return was Rhoodie's promise not to say anything further, and not to make public the contents of tapes and documents that Rhoodie claims would embarrass the South African government.

The curious Paris meeting raised many questions. Was the flamboyant Rhoodie, who has been accused of high living and free spending during his years





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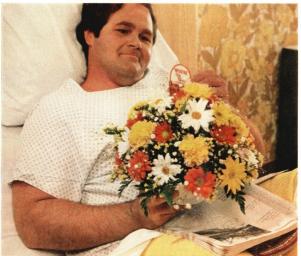






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World

Father of a Larger Community

Jean Monnet: 1888-1979



Former Information Secretary Eschel Rt Is he armed with "caps in a toy gun?

as Pretoria's influence peddler, trying to gain some kind of immunity from prosecution? He is currently wanted in the Transvaal, Prime Minister Botha announced last week, on grounds of "fraud and possibly theft." Furthermore, if Van den Bergh was a former superspook, why did he clumsily allow the press to discover the details of the Paris meeting? If he and Van Zyl were acting in their government's behalf, why did South African officials seize their passports soon after they had returned from Paris? And if Van Zvl is as successful a businessman as he is supposed to be, why are several of his companies in the process of liquidation, and why does he have a recent record of passing a bad check and not paying his bills?

Whatever Rhoodie said to his compatriots in Paris, it seems clear that the South African press already has enough information to proceed with its own investigations of Pretoria's Watergate. One night last week, the Rand Daily Mail went to press with a story containing Rhoodie's charges about the role allegedly played in the scandal by Justice Minister James Kruger. At 2:30 in the morning, the Cape Supreme Court ordered the Mail to delete several paragraphs from the story. The paper's editors complied, printing a final edition with 6 in. of blank space

on the front page By using its muscle, the Botha government may have the power to suppress some of the most distressing details of the emerging scandal. But it can hardly make them disappear. Whether or not Eschel Rhoodie is armed only with "harmless caps in a toy gun," as one National Party M.P. prefers to believe, many white South Africans are looking more cynically than ever before at their ruling party.

he sovereign nations of the past can no longer solve the problems of the present. They cannot ensure their own progress or control their own future. And the European Community itself is only a stage on the way to the organized world

So wrote Jean Monnet, the "Father of the European Community" and the universally respected model of today's supranational civil servant. When Monnet died at the age of 90 last week, in his modest country home near Paris, his dream of a United States of Europe, linked both politically and economically, remained unfinished. But Monnet was a patient man. "I'm not an optimist," he once said, "I am simply persistent," and thus he may have been pleased by the progress that had been made toward his overriding vision. Last week, at a summit meeting in Paris, leaders of the Community officially launched the long-awaited European Monetary System. Next June there will be direct elections for the European Parliament, and the Common Market is slowly negotiating expansion to include Greece, Portugal and Spain.

he grandson of brandy makers from The grandson of orange, Monnet learned as a youth that masterworks are not accomplished by shortcuts. He deftly summed up this truth: "The great thing about making cognac is that it teaches you above everything else to wait-man proposes, but time and God and the seasons have got to be on your side." He began his career as a globetrotting salesman for the family's distillery. Witnessing the chaos and waste of World War I convinced him of the need for international cooperation. By 1916 Monnet had become France's representative in London on the executive committees that coordinated supplies and production. A four-year stint as Deputy Secretary-General of the League of Nations further broadened his perspectives. After spending a decade in international banking, Monnet during World War II once again became involved in organizing production and supplies for the Allies-this time in Washington. He recognized the leadership qualities of Charles de Gaulle, and he joined the provisional Free French government that De Gaulle formed in Al-

Monnet never abandoned his dream of achieving, step by careful step, a united Europe freed at last from the confrontations of past centuries. In 1950 he sold French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman on the idea of the European Coal and Steel Community, as a way to defuse ancient Franco-German rivalries. Two years later, the Community was in operation, with Monnet as its president. That successful effort paved the way for the creation of the Common Market, established by the Treaty of Rome in

Monnet resigned as head of the Coal and Steel Community in 1955 and founded the Action Committee for the United States of Europe. Although high office was his for the asking, he preferred to be a backstage lobbyist for his dream of a united Europe, whispering into the ears of Presidents and Premiers, nudging them toward his vision. "The world is divided into those who want to become someone and those who want to accomplish something," he liked to say. He would add that "there is less competition" in the second

category, to which he so clearly belonged. In recent years, doubts have grown about the validity of Monnet's approach to unity through institutions. The people of the Continent are still French, Germans, Dutch and Italians, not Europeans. The Community itself has yet to move beyond narrowly defined economic policies in which one national interest is carefully balanced against another. But Monnet himself never gave up hope. He liked to pose a question that in its fashion summarized his life: "If you are in a dark tunnel and see a small light at the end, should you turn your back on that light and go back into darkness, or should you continue walking toward it even though you know how far away it is?" Monnet chose to keep walking.



Jean Monnet on his farm, 1963 Not an optimist, just persistent.

Time Essay

The Downs and Ups of Foreign Aid

everyone is familiar with the gasps and adjectives—stunning, ewalloping, whopping, staggering—usually inspired by a 55 billion price tag. Yet when President Carter pledged roughly that amount in additional military and economic aid over three years to help bring Israel and Egypt together, there were few immediate complaints. Most Americans seemed to agree with Senate Republican Leader Howard Baker's belief that the prospective aid would be a real barriant.

The episode should be instructive to a country that has long been beset with doubts about its overall foreign aid program. It

is particularly tronic that Washington should have given such a hospitable reception to a big, unexpected outlay in these tight times. Earlier, Congress had been expected to offer stut resistance to an Administration proposal for a 5159 million increase, to \$6 billion, in economic and military aid worldwide for fiscal 1980. Last week's events probably will not alter that prospect dramatically, but they at least raise to removate and expand its enervated foreign assistance program—If it can just be shown clearly the advantages of doing so.

The U.S. discovered the self-benefits of help-

ing others wheat restrict the collection of the property of the with bigarisan ferror beginning in 1948. The U.S. was the first great power to use aid as a major instrument of foreign policy, and over the next two decades the nation was by far the big-gest source of sack assistance. There were many enchantment with foreign aid, but it became pronounced during the Viet Nam War. It was in 1968 that Congress radically slashed the proposed aid bodget—by 40%, to a 21-year low of \$1.75 billion. Since then, the program has been supporters, widely misunderstood.

Today U.S. foreign aid is a hodgepodge of programs with a muddle of purposes directed by a multitude of agencies. The main one is the Agency for International Development, and is chief, ex-Governor John Gilligan of Ohio, is leaving next month under pressure, in part because he offended too many people by trying to straighten out his department. AID is tangent.

up by more than 150 restrictive and sometimes contradictory congressional mandates. It is not astonishing that a program so confused within is so misunderstood on the outside.

Popular misundentanding takes many forms. One false notion, which undereuts political support for increasing the aid effort, is that the U.S. is still a leader in the field it pinoneerd. Not so. In the early 1960s the U.S. spent up to .5% of its gross national product on foreign aid but today allocates only 27%. Sweden gives 101% of its G.N.P. and Denmark donates .6%. Thirteen nations, including France. Canada, Belgium, Britain, West Germany and Austria give a larger share than the U.S. Says Gilliagm. 'Last year the poorle of the U.S. have in our development assistance programs. We spend more money on dog food than we do on the 600 million people in this world who are mallocurished.'

Jimmy Carter entered office with the hope of doubling U.S. economic development programs by 1982, but he soon curbed this aspiration in the face of a budget-chopping mood. He has pushed some increases through the Congress,

with total aid outlays of \$5.1 billion for fiscal 1978 and \$5.9 billion for fiscal 1979. His 52.9 billion for fiscal 1979. His 52.9 billion for fiscal 1980, and would have been higher, a White House spokesman said, except that larger sums "might have raised the profile of foreign aid and made it even more vulnerable." The proposed 1980 budget is vulnerable enough. While the President shuttled between Cairo and Jerusalem. He Senate Foreign Relations Committee was recommending

aid cuts of more than \$700 million

Recent efforts to reorganize foreign aid have fared much worse than attempts to increase appropriations for it. Senator Hubert Humphrey's last legislative initiative was the International Development Cooperation Act, which would have assembled all foreign aid programs, for the first time, under one roof and a single planning command. The bill died last year as a result of congressional inaction that was abetted by both of the major Administration departments that would have lost power. The State Department would have forfeited control of bilateral programs handled by AID, and the Treasury Department would have been displaced as U.S. policymaker in the multilateral development programs run by the World Bank and other international financial institutions

Thus the administration of the foreign aid program was left just as it was: beset and beleaguered, and known largely for its failures. Those failures are well publicized: some ill-advised projects and scattered cases of misuse of funds by corrupt recipients. In an odd Gresham's Law, the bad news about foreign aid seems to drive out the good—and there is a lot of good news. Foreign aid has contributed to the rise of a series of economically free and prosperous "ADCs," or advanced developing countries, in-cluding South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia and Thailand. U.S. assistance has also helped lift many less fortunate countries out of total destitution. The material results of foreign aid are often significant but little-known factories, dams and agricultural projects that create jobs and food, which in turn contribute to economic and political advance—and to good business for the U.S. Improving the economies

of the developing countries makes them better customers. An estimated 2 million American jobs depend on exports to developing countries, and twelve of those nations, according to a United Nations Association study, are the world's fastest grow-

ing markets for U.S. products.

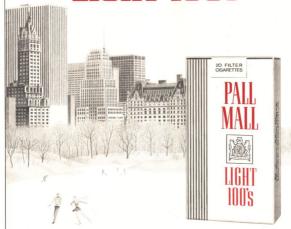
There are even more tangible benefits for America. For every \$1 that the U.S. contributes to international financial institutions that give aid, the recipients spend \$2 to buy goods and services in the U.S. For every \$1 paid by the U.S. into the World Bank alone, \$9.50 flows into the nation's economy in the form of procurement contracts, operations expenditures and in-

terest payments to investors in the bank's bonds.

In short, the U.S. does well by doing good. What is needed is a reorganization of the aid program in order to centralize its di-

rection, clarify its aims and display to the U.S. people that its lofty missions can produce down-to-earth results. As the early reaction to Carter's multibillion-dollar pledge in the Middle East showed last week, the nation is willing enough to assist other peoples if there is a reasonable promise that the investment will produce political or humanitarian benefits. — Frank Trippett Decisions...decisions...Make your decision

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Religion

Man Cannot Become a "Slave"

The first encyclical: a philosophy of human dignity

opes speak and write continually and are variously heard and taken to heart. After his inauguration last fall John Paul II swiftly showed that he would be an activist teacher. His first speech endorsed both doctrinal conservatism and the reforms that grew out of the Second Vatican Council. Then in Latin America he demonstrated a blunt willingness to confront the theology of liberation and define just how priests should, and should not, pursue social justice. Last week he

John Paul signing encyclical With rolled up sleeves and bursts of song.

presented his first encyclical, a formal policy-setting letter from the Pope to the church and the world.

First encyclicals usually reveal what a Pope intends to do but they are rarely as memorable as those they issue later on. Nevertheless John Paul's Redemptor Hominis (Redeemer of Man) is a bold document that asserts religion's role as the conscience of the modern world, places Christ and individual man at the center of history and saves its sharpest language to criticize the dehumanizing excesses of modern political and economic systems. capitalist and Communist alike.

John Paul opposes Western consumerism and Marxist economic determinism because they exalt materialism at the expense of the spirit and undermine the dignity of the individual human being, established for all time by Jesus Christ's redeeming death on the cross: "[Man] cannot become the slave of things, the slave of economic systems, the slave of production," he writes At times, analyzing the paradoxical

dangers of prosperity and progress, he sounds as revolutionary as the liberation theologians whom he had lately taken to task in Mexico. "A certain abuse of freedom," he charges, linked with "a consumer attitude uncontrolled by ethics." limits the freedom of others by driving them into "ever worse misery and destitution."

Industrial societies are found wanting in their dealings with the Third World. "Instead of bread and cultural aid, the new states and nations awakening to independent life are being offered, sometimes in abundance, modern weapons and means of destruction placed at the service of armed conflicts and war.



ENCYCLICAL. REDEMPTOR HOMINIS ADDRESSED BY THE SUPREME PONTIFF

JOHN PAUL II

TO HIS VENERABLE BROTHERS IN THE EPISCOPATE THE PRIESTS THE RELIGIOUS FAMILIES THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF THE CHURCH

AND TO ALL MEN AND WOMEN OF GOOD WILL AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS PAPAL MINISTRY

As to openly totalitarian regimes that refuse to let the people be the "sovereign of their own destiny," they produce only "oppression, intimidation, violence and terrorism." In an implicit reference to his experience in Communist Poland, John Paul pleads for freedom of conscience. "It is difficult to accept ... a position that gives only atheism the right of citizenship in public and social life, while believers are ... barely tolerated or ... deprived of the rights of citizenship." In a dramatic appeal to rulers, he demands respect for religious liberty: "No privilege is asked for, but only respect for an elementary right.

Redemptor Hominis continually reaffirms "Each man in all the unrepeatable reality of what he is and what he does, of

his intellect and will, of his conscience and heart." In this philosophy each individual must make the reality of Christ's redemption his own in order to find himself. "If this profound process takes place within him, he then bears fruit not only of adoration of God but also of deep wonder at himself. How precious must man be in the eyes of the Creator if ... God 'gave his only Son' in order that man should not perish but have eternal life.

If man's freedom is respected, the question remains: Freedom for what? Nowadays it is sometimes held, though wrongly, that freedom is an end in itself In reality, freedom is a great gift only when we know how to use it ... Christ teaches us that the best use of freedom is

in self-giving and in service. Previous Popes have used teams of experts to help prepare encyclicals. This

document abandons the customary regal we" in favor of "I." for it is entirely John Paul's work. He began it as soon as he was elected, completed it in just five weeks, and waited for Lent to issue it. After breakfast he would sit down at his desk with sleeves rolled up and write in clear longhand, composing in his native Polish. At times he would burst into religious folk song. Redemptor Hominis also treats a va-

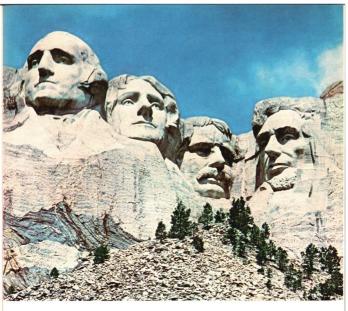
riety of church issues. Among them:

Priestly Celibacy: Resisting pressure to relax the rule, John Paul reminds the faithful that Latin-rite priests "knowingly and freely commit ourselves to live in celibacy," and he urges each priest to be "faithful to the bond that he has accept-

Dissent: Within the church many dogmas, even on the nature of Christ, are being questioned. The encyclical welcomes "pluralism of methodology." but it insists that theologians must be close collaborators with the church's Magisterium (teaching office). The conclusion: No scholar can turn theology into "a simple collection of his own personal ideas.

The State of the Church: Despite ongoing "tension," it has come through a period of turmoil following the Second Vatican Council with a new maturity and discernment about "thoughtless criticisms" and "novelties.

At 18,000 words Redemptor Hominis is not only unusually long (the last encyclical, Paul VI's much disputed 1968 ban on artificial birth control, ran 7,000 words), but extraordinarily direct and personal. Early on John Paul describes the moment when he became Pope: "It was to Christ the Redeemer that my feelings and my thoughts were directed on Oct. 16 of last year when, after the canonical election, I was asked 'Do you accept?' I then replied: With obedience in faith to Christ, my Lord, and with trust in the Mother of Christ and of the Church, in spite of the great difficulties, I accept.' Today I wish to make that reply known publicly.



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WE'RE EASY TO REMEMBER.

People



Prince Charles being kissed on his way out of the surf at Perth

In Hong Kong, during his swing through Asia and Australia on a show-the-monarchy tour, Prince Charles bravely tasted curried snake. In the surf in Perth, however, what slithered up to England's future King was a nubile nymph, clearly carrying no concealed weapons, who hugged and kissed an unprotesting Charles. The Prince was also kissed by a young housewife and by an ecstatic elderly lady. Recalling similar smooching on Charles' previous Australian visits, the Melbourne Herald sought explanations from Body Language Expert Desmond (The Naked Ape) Morris, who blamed it on Charles' friendly grin. "If he scowled or showed alarm or just cultivated a blank expression, it wouldn't happen. Queen Victoria did this, and not many kissed her." Not many wanted to, for that matter.



Playwright Baker, after lots of work, meets the cast of "Home Again"



Bisset and Newman making odd comparisons amid the rains of Ha

"Three months with Paul Newman can't be all bad," says Actress Jacqueline Bisset. Agreed, but sometimes it can't be all good either. During the filming in Hawaii of Irwin Allen's ultimate disaster movie, The Day the World Ended with Newman and William Holden. Bisset's reel-life idyl was interrupted by real-life meteorological aberrations. Not only were there earthquakes, but the usually sun-washed Kona coast was lashed by heavy rains that set back filming and added another \$2 million to the \$20 million budgeted. Bisset and Newman, during one interruption in the shooting. were caught by photographers making comparisons that were more odd than odious. Doris Kearns Goodwin is a

Ph.D., bestselling author (Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream), ex-Harvard professor, baseball nut-and lady. Thus when Kearns' favorite team, the Boston Red Sox, took the unprecedented step of inviting her into their trainingcamp dressing room, Kearns chose the middle way. She went, but only after the team was on the field. "It was neater than most women's locker rooms I've seen," she reported. "The players' clothes were all neatly hung." Admits Kearns: 'I'm willing to let someone else be the first woman in there when players are dressing." Still, as Husband Richard, a former presidential speechwriter. pointed out, "Thirty years from now you'll be a baseball trivia question.'

"It looked more interesting than politics." insists thrice-a-week-tongue-incheek New York Times Columnist Russell Baker, 53. Between columns, Baker has been scribbling away at a musical, which opens on Broadway next month. Three years of effort, by the author's count, have produced a net loss of \$375 for the coffee consumed by himself and "paladins of the Great White Way" while they convinced him that a succession of scripts needed "a lot of work." The end result, Home Again, with music by Cy Coleman and lyrics by Barbara Fried.

is a melodic history of an American family from 1925 up to the present time.

Monroe, La., probably has not seen so much unction since the halcyon days of Huey Long. There was smiling Tongsun Park signing autographs and granting interviews. He acted more like a Cajun politician than a disgraced influence peddler turned Government witness in the \$213,000 bribery -tax evasion trial of former formidable Congressman Otto Passman, his old friend, in Passman's home town. Park even accepted an invitation to talk to 50 high school journalism students. Samples of their Q. and A.: How did he like Cajun food? Great, especially gumbo and rice. How were morals among young South Koreans? High, since girls were not allowed to date until 21. Pouring on the same snake oil that (along with money) captivated a score or more of U.S. Congressmen, Park saluted the entire class as embryo Cronkites and Walterses and returned to serious business.





A meal with Younger Son Ali Reza, served by fezzed Moroccan waiter

Once there were not enough hours in the imperial day for all he sought to accomplish as that political rara avis. a 20th century absolute monarch. Now there are too many. Time hangs heavy for Moham med Reza Pahlavi, the deposed Shah of Iran, in exile with Empress Farah and their children in a Moroccan palace on the outskirts of Rabat. As the days drag on and the reality of lost power dashes pretense and undermines hope, the Shah has grown irritable, subdued, even

He is reduced to radio

broadcasts for his news, most of it bad-or even worse, indifferent to his existence. Daily. however, his royal host, King Hassan II. drives over to Dar es Salaam Palace for a tête-à-tête. often chauffeuring himself in a sleek Mercedes 450SE with only a chihuahua lap dog as sentinel. There is an occasional family excursion into the Middle Atlas Mountains, but this involves screaming sirens and two limousine loads of iittery security guards-scarcely a soothing outing. At home at the palace, 200 Moroccan troops are on guard duty



The royal couple greet Daughter Farahnaz and Son Reza

As a result the Shah, 59, spends much of his time, even in the wet and winds of winter, walking with Farah in the 25 acres of parkland that surround the palace. For exercise the onetime king of the ski slopes has taken up golf under the tutelage of Claude Harmon Fu, the American pro who taught Hassan to play. So far the Shah has yet to finish 18 holes at the royal golf-club near the palace.

In his seclusion, he receives few guests, and most of these are bankers and businessmen. Many old friends are afraid to come, and the Empress, who in exile has become his rock and his shield, screens out the importunate. One welcome arrival last week, however, was Crown Prince Reza, 18, their oldest son, who had won his pilot's wings after eight months' training at Reese Air Force Base near Lubbock, Texas, and had come to show them off to his father and fellow flyer. Alas for Reza, time may now hang heavy for him too. The wings came too late for the youth who had expected to command the Iranian armed forces and some day the country.





In nuclear plant control room, Engineer Lemmon fights The China Syndrome; TV Reporter Fonda tells the story

Cinema

Art: An Atom-Powered Thriller

THE CHINA SYNDROME Directed by James Bridges Screenplay by Mike Gray and T.S. Cook, and James Bridges

It shows a near disaster at an atomic-powered electrical generating plant located uncomfortably near Los Angeles. The film also depicts the utility company that owns the plant and the contractor that built it resorting to lies, corruption and violence to prevent the public from discovering how narrowly a disaster was averted, how large is the potential for similar incidents in the future-and never mind the sizable body of scientific opinion about the improbability of a chain of accidents anything like that posited by the film

Still, the picture is wonderfully fair to moviegoers, a superbly suspenseful, expertly crafted, entirely riveting entertainment. It is hard to recall a movie of recent years as absorbing, or as much fun, as The China Syndrome. That rather obscure title, by the way, refers to the theoretical destination of a plant's super-hot uranium core if it somehow lost its liquid coolant and burned through the floor, into the earth and onward to China

That's what almost happens the day a television news team-Reporter Jane Fonda, Cameraman Michael Douglas -takes a routine tour of a nuclear power plant. They're in the visitors' gallery, looking into the control room presided over Veteran Engineer Jack Lemmon. when everyone down there starts falling madly about. Some sort of crisis is obviously at hand. Ordered not to shoot,

The China Syndrome is not the least bit fair-minded about nuclear power. Douglas sneaks a reel of pictures. But by the time the newshawks get back to the the time the newshawks get back to the station, the utility's p.r. man has persuaded the news director that nothing really happened. Douglas, a hot-tempered liberaloid activist, smells a conspiracy; Fonda, a careerist, doesn't much care. She's just another pretty face introducing the human-interest stuff. But Douglas persists. the company steps up its villainy, and slowly Fonda's conscience and consciousness begin to stir.

Meantime, something parallel is happening to Technocrat Lemmon. He has always been a believer not only in nuclear power but also in the elaborate Fail-Safe system that makes its peaceful use feasible. Now, however, his superiors push him a little too hard to get the disabled plant back on line faster than he thinks it should be. He also discovers that the contractors who built the plant have falsified vital safety certificates. But even as he's getting on to them, they're getting on to him-no way anyone's going to let fraudulent radiograms be introduced at a certification hearing for their newest nuclear installation. Attempted murder, Lemmon's singlehanded seizure of the plant, with a SWAT team coming through the control-room door and colleagues purposely fouling up the reactor to distract him while Fonda stands by to put his damning evidence on TV live, all follow.

Now that may sound improbably melodramatic, but it plays just fine. The credit belongs in part to Director Bridges for his sure handling of the action and in part to a script that makes us really care for Fonda and Lemmon. It seems almost superfluous to praise Fonda anew, but she is truly at the peak of her talent these days. Nobody has done a better characterization of the vacuity of the TV news "personality"-the little moments of makeup-mirror vanity snatched against deadline pressure, the falseness of oncamera performances that must never really look like performances, the psychological confusions of pretending to be a real reporter when you know you've been hired because you've got good bones. Lemmon, through the sheer integrity of his playing-no cute stuff, no obvious plays for sympathy-is outstanding as an essentially lonely man who has built his life around his dials and gauges, and then learns that they have been programmed from the start to deceive him

I t would have been easy to make a rou-tinely satisfying little thriller out of The China Syndrome, plenty of slam-bang action coupled with a little cheap preachment about atomic perils. But by keeping the polemic almost entirely implicit, by building solid central characterizations into the plot, and by framing the whole thing with quick, shrewd observations (Fonda's career-girl pad, for example, is perfectly disorganized), the movie transcends its disaster-thriller origins-and its politics. Proponents of nuclear power are right to be concerned about this picture. A member of the audience might have trouble applying justified skepticism to The China Syndrome's central premise when everything else about the film runs so fast, rings so true. - Richard Schickel

Science

Life: An Atom-Powered Shutdown

Five Eastern nuclear plants are turned off for safety checks

After seeing The China Syndrome, in which profiteering contractors and profit-possessed power industry executives easily outfor the Government agency charged with regulating their nuclear plants, even citizens not afraid of the peaceful use of reactors may wonder how well the Nuclear Regulatory Commission does its job. Such viewers should find an action last week by the NRC to be reassuring. In a case of life refuting the moviem of the nuclear plants in the populous between the profit of the nuclear plants in the populous beauting of questions about their ability to withstand earthquakes.

Turning off the five plants, which together produce about 4.1 million kw of electric power, reflects the NRC's caution in the present fevered climate of public debate about the nation's use of reactors to provide energy. The NRC has not suggested that the plants are unsafe. But engineers from Pennsylvania's Duquesne Light Co., which operates one of the plants, and the Boston firm of Stone and Webster, which designed all five, found a mathematical defect in the computer program used to design some of the plants' coolant pipes so that they would be strong enough to withstand a major earthquake. The firms promptly reported their discovery to the commission. Even though it recognized that the probability of earthquakes in the area is small," the commission ordered the shutdown until a new

*Though the East Coast experiences numerous minor temblors, the area's last serious earthquake occurred in 1886, in Charleston, S.C. analysis could be undertaken. The NRC's action inevitably will provide additional ammunition for both sides in the nation's debate over the safety of reactors. There was fuel for dispute as well last week for those worried about the disposal of nuclear wastes.

Are nuclear plants safe? The answer

depends on the definition of "safe." If it means accident-proof, then the answer, as applied to anything from a bicycle to a steel mill. Is no A nuclear plant cannot blow up like an atomic bomb. A plant cannot blow up like an atomic bomb. A plant cannot blow up like an atomic bomb. A plant cannot blow up like an atomic bomb. A plant cannot could, however, suffer a "melldown" if it loses the water used to cool its uranium core, overheats, ruptures the core's container and releases a deadly cloud of radicative gases. In the event of such an accident, people close to the plant would det quickly, while others, living as far as a couple of hundred miles downwind miles downwind reinfunced cancer.

The very fact that such an accident is possible has dictated safeguards that make the probability of its occurring in-intestinal. Nuclear reactors are enclosed seemed to be a seemed to be a seemed to be seen as the seemed to be seen as the seemed to be seemed to be

ing to shut down a plant for as long as necessary if there is even the slightest question of safety. Experience shows that such safety

features work. In 1975, a workman using a candle to test for air leaks accidentally started an electrical fire in the Browns Ferry nuclear plant at Athens, Ala. The fire short-circuited cables controlling the primary cooling system, causing loss for some of the nuclear-core cooling water. But nothing even close to a melidown ensued. Although one of the back-up cooling systems was also disabled, technicians upon the cool that the coo

echnology is not, however, as advanced in overcoming another obstacle to the increased use of nuclear power: the issue of waste disposal. Government and industry spokesmen have long maintained that safeguarding nuclear wastes, which may remain radioactive for millenniums, was a straightforward and easily solved engineering problem. A report to President Carter released last week by a task force representing 14 agencies asserts that the matter is more complex. Current knowledge is adequate only for choosing potential dumping sites for further examination, the group said, not for certifying them as safe. Contending that it is unnecessary for the Energy Department to build a proposed experimental waste storage facility, the committee urged the U.S. to begin instead to seek sites for permanent repositories that could serve both for storing wastes and for evaluating storage methods. The technical feasibility of burying nuclear wastes, the group concluded, "remains to be established.





A faulty computer program, a fear of earthquakes and a caution about waste.

Economy & Business

Deliberating on Oil Decontrol

Carter's aides favor freeing up prices but differ on how much, how soon

n spite of all the talk about the need for an energy policy, the U.S. remains maddeningly vulnerable to fuel cutoffs. Last week brought yet more evidence of that depressing fact as new petroperils were turning up everywhere.

Continuing a rash of price-gouging moves by many oil nations, Nigeria, the fourth largest producer in the 13-nation OPEC cartel, indicated that it was planning to tack on an export surcharge of perhaps as much as 17%. That advance will add further pressure for a fresh round of inflationary increases early next week, when OPEC ministers plan to meet in Geneva. Indeed, by an ironic White House oversight. Carter is expected the same day to play host to the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli peace accords in Washington. Arab hard-liners, such as Iraq, Algeria and Libya, could well be tempted to try to upstage the treaty signing by clamoring for huge new price increases, supply cutbacks or both.

The outlook seems bleak enough as matters stand now. Though most U.S. gasoline stations still have enough fuel on hand to meet the demands, oil company deliveries are rapidly being roter. Excent supplies are becoming so tight that last week the company had to impose an \$\$ limit on gas purchases at its stations along the heavily traveled New Jersy Turnjuke. Excon also said it would not renew crude-oil supply company that the properties of th

that have been cut off to meet their own commitments.

The authoritative petroleum industry weekly, the Lumbery Letter, offered a grim forecast of just how hard—and how quickly—the US. is likely to be hurt by the tightening oil squeeze. Using regular-sales tax data supplied by state governments, the letter warned that by the end of next week there would be a shocking-by large shortfall of 8.9% in gasoline supplies. A rush by panicky motorists to gas up would virtually guarrantee foring quip would virtually guarrantee foring and the proposed of the proposed of

If Washington had any quick-fix cures to offer, they were not apparent. In the Senate, a group of Administration critics led by Ohio Democrat Howard Metzenbaum seemed content simply to badger and goad Energy Secretary James Schlesinger, variously recommending that he either quit or be fired as ineffectual. One of Schlesinger's biggest embarrassments: DOE's strategic petroleum reserve, which is supposed to be available in times of severe shortage but is years behind schedule and contains less than a week's worth of oil. Pumps to get the crude back out of the huge underground Louisiana and Texas salt domes, where it is stored, will not be installed until September, if then.

In another example of energy trouble and vulnerability, the Nuclear Energy Regulatory Commission ordered the immediate shutdown of five mid-Atlantic and New England nuclear power generators on the statistically improbable grounds that an earthquake might occur near by and cause them to pour out radioactive materials. U.S. oil consumption will quickly jump by 100,000 bbl. a day as the affected public utilities switch to increased production by oil-fired generators.

President Carter's energy policies were even attacked by a White House study group. The body, which was set up a present of covernment regulations as part of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, warned that rules designed to force firms that use oil and natural gas to switch to unspiton. The loophole concerns gas-burning utilities, which cannot use gas after 1990 but will be allowed to switch to oil instead of ceal before then, many will consider the property of the council of

Through all the travail, the Administration continued to urge Americans to lower thermostats and to save fuel by driving at slower speeds. So far, the pleas have had no effect. Instead of declining. Use a second 21 million bil. daily, of which nearly 45% must be imported. In his Senate testimony, Schlesinger cited the statistics to urge quick passage of the stand-by package of mandatory savings measures that Carter sent to Congress of quiptful that anything short of the contract of the statistics to the contract of the contract of the statistics to the contract of the statistics to the statistics to the contract of the statistics to the statistics to the contract of the statistics to the



of outright gasoline rationing—the toughest of the otherwise mild steps that Carter is asking Congress to allow him to take if necessary—could have much impact on consumption. For now, the White House seems set against rationing.

The White House desperately needs to regain the initiative on energy, and the most likely immediate step is a presidential address on the subject. For weeks, Schlesinger has been urging Carter to make one and has twice presented the

President with policy proposals. DOE officials are eager that Carter give a strong speech, and soon, preferably before next week's OPEC meeting. Energy policy is, of course, intimately connected with the whole economy, which is under severe inflationary strain. That alone kept the White House's top economic advisers busy for much of the week examining new anti-inflation measures during daily meetings at which Vice President Walter Mondale was present. Over the weekend at Camp David the President was scheduled to review a long list of options on both fronts. Carter was expected to narrow the choices further early this week in talks with the White House's top economic and energy advisers.

he President's most difficult task will be facing up to the need to scrap price controls on domestic crude oil. The labyrinthine structure is perhaps the most complex regulatory apparatus ever devised by the Federal Government, and just administering it costs billions of taxpayer dollars. Worse, the system stifles exploration and development in the U.S. by keeping domestic oil prices below the prevailing world level. The disparity has encouraged oil companies to search for crude in countries where they can get top dollar-that is, OPEC nations-and then sell the oil in markets where there are no price controls.

Getting rid of roude-oil price controls is crucial to any effective energy policy. Carter has the power to do this by Executive Order: he can simply refuse to renew the controls when they would aggravate inflation, though no one can say for sure by how much. That itsif is one reason why Carter has itsif to take such action, but if domestic oll prices rose, consumption would dellar would strengthen and the dellar would strengthen and the concern you will be seen.

Carrier advisers generally haved decentrie but are divided on how to go about it. His political aides, including Hamilton Jordan, want descentred phased in over flower than the carrier gave a windfull to the organizes. But others, including Schlesinger, Treasury Secretary Michael Blumenthal and Chef Presidential Economist Charles Schultze, argue persuasivety that decounted should be done quickly up more rapidly. They would couple decounter with a sexes profits tax on the oil industry: Congress would have to enact it. The revenues from such a tax could be used to help finance development of promising alternative sources of energy, such as shale oil, tar sands, coal gasification and solar power. The tax would also help bankroll research into renewable resources such as geothermal and even wind and wave power.

Two years ago, Carter sought congressional approval of a somewhat similar tax as part of his ill-fated National Energy Plan, which was shredded in successive House and Senate squabbles. One of the

first cassalties was the President's scalled crude-oil equalization tax, but Congressmen may be more favorably disposed toward the idea now that shortages are again a real threat. Says House Majority forward with a bold, imaginative, inspiring energy solicy to make the nation energy self-sufficient in a decade, we'd pass it. I hope he is bold enough and doesn't ask for too titlet. I wouldn't be timid or might pass whatever he asked fer." If the course, first he hasto ask.



Port official with model of the pipeline and tanker terminal that was to handle Alaskan crude

California, There They Go

Sohio bows out of Long Beach

his foreign multinational has pulled out. I'd like to know why very quickly." So snapped California Governor Jerry Brown last week, when he heard about the startling decision made by Standard Oil of Ohio. After five years, \$50 million in expenses and submission of more than 700 permits and applications, the company, which is part owned by British Petroleum, was abandoning its ill-starred effort to launch a \$1 billion project that would have been of value to the entire nation. Sohio wanted to convert an unused 700-mile natural-gas pipeline to move Alaskan oil from Long Beach, Calif., to Midland. Texas, for further delivery to the energy-hungry Midwest

and production, presently set at 1.2 million bil. daily, to increase to a full 1.6 million bil. daily, to increase to a full 1.6 million bil. and thus help reduce dependence on foreign oil. Without the pipeline, it would be difficult to raise the North Slope output: the West Coast is already to be a full to the control of the control of the billion of the control of the control of the billion of the control of the control of the day of it via tanker through the Panama Canal, a process that adds up to \$1 per

bbl. to the cost. What is more, oil companies are barred from exporting Alaskan oil, even if the purpose is to swap it for foreign oil that can be brought more easily to East Coast ports.

The pipeline project would have sharply reduced the problems, but California's superardent environmental officials yelped that it would befoul Long Beach harbor with oil spills and seriously worsen the local among problem, because merely unloading the oil would release hymogeneous the control of the contr

As the delays dragged on, new complications arose. By the time that the environmental hurdles were overcome, inflation had pushed up the cost of the project so much that it no longer seemed attractive. Meanwhile, El Paso Natural Gas, the pipeline's owner, began hinting that Sohio might have to pay much more than it had expected for the line.

When Sohio finally called it quits, California officials were stunned. Governor Brown's office sputtered that "only two final permits" were needed, and that approval could be expected within a week. Sohio officials were unimpressed. Said one: "We've been hearing that sort of thing for years now." $N_{\rm CHCE}$ the changes in this series of paintings done in the last five years of Van Gogh's life. His style, the colors he used reflect his growing self-awareness. The final self-portrait was painted just months before his suicide.

In his brief career, spanning only 10 years, Vincent Van Gogh produced a torrent of work.
Close to 1,700 of his works survive. Yet he sold only one painting in his lifetime, and that for an equivalent of only \$80.

Today, he is an acknowledged master of modern art. (At least one of his paintings sold for over \$1 million.) Yet during his life, he so belittled himself that he signed his work merely



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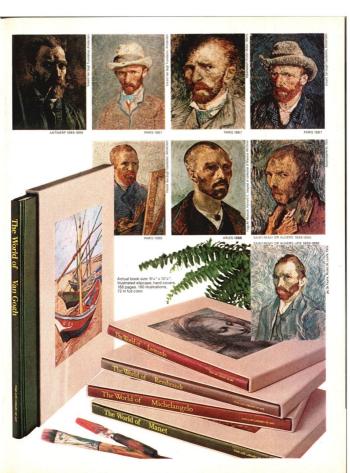
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Economy & Business

Expensive Rules

For 48 firms: \$2.6 billion

So this exasperation with the environmental protection bureaureacy in California was surely understood by exceptives at many other companies, where 'the high cost of Government regulation' has become one of the most cited sources has become one of the most cited sources andards imposed by regulators? Estimates of the annual cost of federal regulation alone to U.S. industry have ranged from \$79 billion a year (by Republican Economist Murray Weldenbaum) to \$13 hillion to by the Office of Management and office of the control of the control of the control of estimates of \$15 billion or more.

Last week the Business Roundtable, whose members are the chief executives of some 190 of the nation's biggest corporations, issued its long-awaited report on regulation costs. The study, conducted by the accounting firm of Arthur Andersen, was a significant measure of the actual financial impact of regulation as ex-

perienced by companies A group of 48 Roundtable member firms, among them A T & T, General Motors, Exxon, Procter & Gamble, Dow Chemical and Eastman Kodak, were examined for the added costs caused in 1977 by just six federal regulatory agencies and programs. The total: \$2.6 billion, which was equal to about 16% of the companies' net profits, 10% of their capital expenditures and 40% of their R. & D. budgets for the year. IBM Chairman Frank Cary, who supervised the study, reckoned that the \$2.6 billion figure, extrapolated to cover the whole U.S. economy, would yield an overall cost of regulation that is 'not inconsistent" with Weidenbaum's \$79 billion estimate.

The study found the Environmental Protection Agency responsible for 77% of all the added costs, while the much criticized Occupational Safety and Health Administration accounted for only 7%. Requirements imposed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission were reported by the Environment Opportunity Act for 2% and the Federal Trade Commission for 1%.

The study did not examine the benifst of regulation or secondary costs, like losses due to construction delays caused the construction delays caused the construction of the conceding the many regulation. The construction of the BM's Cary also noted that the study showed plainly that the resulting expenditures can "often be wasteful and nonposed more thin the construction of the conposed more thin the control of the conposed more thin the control of the conposed more thin the financial burden of new rules would have to be weighted or new rules would have to be weighted and the control of t



The Ubiquitous Burger, beset by Fuel, Labor and Beef Costs

Squeeze in Fast Food

Big washout ahead

For more than a decade, the fastest thing about the fast-foot industry has been its growth—in outlets, sales and profits. No area of the business has prospected in the control of the con

The chains still have room to grow. and their earnings, though slowing somewhat, will probably remain strong by any standards. But there is a growing consensus in and out of the industry that the old days of runaway expansion are over and a tough period of scrambling for new customers and healthy returns lies ahead. A basic problem has been the rising cost of food, especially meat; beef prices jumped 30% last year, and some experts say they could increase by 50% this year. The chains have thus been forced to charge more: McDonald's raised its prices last year by about 14%. But higher costs are causing people to order down-to pass up the \$1.05 Big Mac for a 50¢ regular hamburger, buy smaller portions of French fries and cut out dessert

Another factor has been the increase in the minimum wage, which went from \$2.65 to \$2.90 on Jan. I. Higher fuel prices and gasoline shortages may also hurt the chains because people will be less inclined to drive out for a meal. Indeed there has been a quick rise in supermarket sales of fast-food fixin's to prepare at home.

Meanwhile, the hamburger heavyweight, McDonald's, is being challenged by hungry competitors, notably Burger King, a subsidiary of Pillsbury Co. Mc-Donald's 5200 outlets, which account for about 20% of the \$20 billion spent last year on fast food, generated earnings of \$163 million on sales of \$46 billion in

1978. McDonald's opened 500 new outlets last year and expects to continue expanding at that pace for the next three to five years. But that cannot make up for the slowdown in annual earnings growth. which dropped to 19% last year from roughly 40% five years ago. Since last fall the average month-to-month sales rise at McDonald's stores, which used to be 9%. has slipped to 5%. Reflecting these developments. McDonald's stock has declined from the 1978 high of \$60 a share to last week's close of \$41.25. McDonald's plans to continue to direct its \$200 million-ayear advertising campaign toward kids, but it will also begin pushing more vigorously for the adult trade. Its breakfast business is growing, and the company is experimenting at selected sites with a dinner menu that includes chicken pot pies and fried chicken sandwiches. Burger King, with 2,500 outlets the

second largest chain, plans to open about 350 new ones this year. Though Pillsbury does not report separate sales and profit figures for Burger King, analysts believe that the chain is expected to manage better than its rivals. A major reason: the chain was fastest in diversifying its menu. Besides hamburgers, it offered chicken, fish and ham-and-cheese sandwiches.

W endy's, founded in Columbus only a decade ago, is a highly successful upstart. Its distinctive outlets, with their Gay Nineties décor, have been popping up all over the country. Last year alone Wendy's opened 502 units, bringing the total to 1.400. One result: the company's earnings surged 56%, to \$23.2 million, on sales of \$783 million. Even so, analysts say, average sales advances in Wendy's shops have slowed in recent months, and they expect that deceleration to continue. Still, Wendy's intends to stick with its limited line of hamburgers and chilithough some industry experts believe that this will make the company especially vulnerable to the rise in beef prices. Whatever strategy the chains choose, they are already on the edge of the frying pan. The big problem for the years immediately ahead will be to stay out of the

Economy & Business

Hot Duel over Dumping

Charges of kickbacks and cover-ups in Japanese TV imports

"The Executive Branch has neither the will nor the means to enforce the antidumping laws."

—Zenith Chairman John Nevin

America's TV manufacturers have long been bitter about the flood of Japanese television sets into the U.S. For nearly ten years, they have insisted that these imports, which last year totaled 2.8 million sets and captured 40% of the market, have been illegally "dumped," sold at cheap prices way below those charged in Japan. But the last three Administrations have been strangely deaf to the industry's plaints. Investigation dumping the part of the property of the control of the cont

These payments were supposedly designed to disaguise the true extent of the dumping, which, according to U.S. Customs officials, was most intense during and after the mid-1970s recession. The tackbacks alleged recession and the control of the con

The potential penalties are high. The U.S. importers—such as the large retailers and the U.S. subsidiaries of Matsushita, Sharp, Sanyo and Toshiba—could be required to pay dumping duties totaling \$500 million owed on \$2 billion worth



Japanese-made sets selling under the Sears label at one of the company's New Jersey stores

A lengthy drama of grand juries, warring bureaucrats and claims of a secret deal.

titude is changing. Meanwhile, evidence is emerging of lax enforcement of the trade rules and possible malfeasance by past and present Administration officials.

Last week the Treasury Department made a long delayed move to collect some back dumping tariffs. It ordered 38 importers to pay more than \$40 million in duties on color TV sets that were brought in to the country between six and eight years ago. The department was clearly acting under pressure. Ohio Democrat Charles Vanik, who heads a House subcommittee on trade, has called for hearings on the dumping issue. At the same time, federal grand juries in New York City, Norfolk, Va., and Los Angeles, as well as a Justice Department task force in Chicago, are hearing federal allegations that several large retailers, notably Sears, Montgomery Ward and J.C. Penney, have accepted illegal Japanese kickbacks

of sets imported since 1971. In addition, the U.S.-owned retailers could face civil fraud penalties totaling \$1 billion and criminal fines of \$5,000 for each shipment of TVs brought in under a false import declaration. But the prospect is for a less painful out-of-court settlement. Says one Treasury lawyer: "Nobody wants to see the Government take over Sears."

Criminal investigations are being aimed only at U.S. companies, apparently because their records are more accessible and reliable than data from Japanese-owned import firms in the U.S. Yet the dumping penalties from importers of all nationalities. These tariffs were first imposed in March 1911, but in April 1972, assembled the control of the control

dumping were blocked by the Treasury.
In 1976 the U.S. International Trade
Commission started to look into complaints of dumping, Customs fraud and
international trade of the commission started to look into complaints of dumping, Customs fraud and
international trade of the commission of the com

Two years later, the Treasury again moved to block an antidumping action. Customs agents were preparing 'Project Omega,' an attempt to collect \$400 million in back duties Bott as 1800 million projects between the projects and the projects and

of Information Act applications. Treasury officials admit to bureaucratic inertia in collecting penalties, but they trace the failure to assess any since 1972 to a lack of manpower and the refusal of the Japanese TV makers to turn over reliable data. A number of Congressmen and leaders of the U.S. TV manufacturing industry figure that successive Administrations have been unwilling to confront the Japanese on the issue during the long multilateral trade negotiations that are now nearing completion in Geneva. Industry critics also note that some high-level Government officials involved in dumping decisions are now working for Washington law firms representing the Japanese manufacturers.

a addition, there is growing evidence that the Carter Administration may have made a secret deal in 1971 to serul investigations and drop pending dumping penalties in exchange for a Japanese "voluntary" limit on IV exports. The Japanes which is a serul in the properties of the prop

Ohio's Vanik has vowed to use his power as head of the trade subcommittee to get the dumping laws enforced. He metatens to prevent easy approval of the multilance of the control of the c

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1978. NASA requests bids for a watch to be used on Space Shuttle flights. Omega's place is up for grabs. Omega again plis its production-line Speedmaster Professional against the world's best, in tests twice as tough as before. Again Omega wins out. The Speedmaster Professional is today being worn by Space Shuttle's crews.



Economy & Business

States' Wrongs

Guideline busting all around

Though the Carter Administration preaches austerity in pay raises as part of its anti-inflation gospel, some state and local legislators have been covering their ears and awarding themselves and other public employees hefty boosts. The irony is that these increases, which sometimes range well above the Government's voluntary guidelines limit of 7%, are made possible because of the rich flow of federal aid to states and localities. In many cases, the money for the raises is available because federal largesse pays for programs that the legislatures would otherwise have to fund. Government programs will this year enrich state and city coffers by \$82 billion, an amount more than double the projected federal budget deficit of \$33.2 billion. Thus Washington finds itself handing out cash that is being used to undermine its fight against soaring living costs, which are now climbing at an annual rate of 8.8%

Georgia's house of representatives passed a bill to give teachers a 9% raise this year, prompting protests from both Governor George Busbee and White House Inflation Fighter Alfred Kahn. So last week the state senate mounted an effort to deflect the anger but save the increase: it voted a 10% raise but split the payment in two-a 7% boost beginning next September and 3% in January. Illinois legislators voted themselves both a 25% raise this year (to \$25,-000) and a further 12% increase for next year. The commissioners on the board of Cook County, which includes Chicago, voted themselves a 30% raise, to \$32,500. When the board's president vetoed the appropriation for the raise, one member took the matter to court, where it now awaits resolution.

Arkansas Governor William Clinton has proposed an increase of 14% for teachers, contending that the raise is completely justified because teacher salaries in his state (current average: \$11,146) are among the very lowest in the nation. Louistana Governor Edwin Edwards says that he will seek a 10% increase for all state employees.

For a time the White House considered trying to cut back on some federal aid to states that broke the guidelines, but dropped the idea because it was legally questionable as well as politically risky. Now Kahn says that the Administration will rely on "statesmanship and informed public opinion" to curb the spread of these "outrageous" increases. Unfortunately, that is not likely to be enough to hold down public wage raises, which are highly visible and thus set a tempting example for powerful unions in the trucking, electrical and other industries in this year of heavy labor bargaining.

Executive View/Marshall Loeb

The Saudis and the Dollar

It may seem odd, ironic and even unbelievable to anybody paying those pumped-up OPEC oil prices, but the Saudis feel they are the suckers of the world. In their own sardonic way, they even joke about it. They say that they have piped out their black gold but the paper money they have accumulated in return for it has suffered from the decline of the dollar. They are worried about the shakiness of the international monetary system and of some Western banks in which they have put their money.

When the control of this mind-set, it is deeply disturbing to experts on Arabinated to the mines than Minos Zombanakis, a Crete-born and Harvard-educated banker who straddles two worlds. For over 20 years, Zombanakis, 23 has been advising Arabs and Iranians on how to deal with Western executives, and vice versa. He knows the Saudis about as well as any Westerner can. He range-se far from his elegant London offices, where he has been the interest executives, and vice versa. He knows the Saudis about as well as any Westerner can. He range-sia from the second of the second

muce money—when a two sou disk retistra tastes, sharp and rich. Zombanakis argues that the U.S. must strengthen the dollar for many reasons, not least so
Saudi Arabia and the other OPEC countries will continue to sell their oil for dollars. To do that, he says, "Washington must realize that the dollar can no longer act as the sole reserve currency in the world. The dependence of the world

on the dollar is not a blessing but a curse for America."

The dollar is weak, be believes, because it is the only significant international trading currency and more than 75% of the official reserves of all non-communist countries are held in dollars. This unique dominance has enabled U.S. banks to lend out so many billions of dollars that the world is awash with them, and their value has been tumbling. Nbdoyk knows how Turkey, Zaltre.



Dealmaker Zombanakis

Peru and many other impocunious countries will ever pay back their loans to Citibank, Chase or the rest of the big U.S. lenders. The debtor countries, pleading poverty, could indefinitely defer repayment. Then the Federal Reserve Board would have to cover those bad debts, meaning that the U.S. who was the properties of the power of the properties of the standard was the properties of the standard properties of the properti

To strengthen the collar, Zombanakis continues, governments must devise a new system a collective responsibility that will be considered to the system with the continual debt considered to the considered to the collar part of the collar than the collar part of the collar part of

major voices in managing the world central bank.

Say that Turkey had borrowed \$100 million from a private American bank.

The IMF would make an exchange give Turkey \$100 million in \$508, take Turkey \$100 million in genebacks and use them to pay off the U.S hatk loan. Result: there would be fewer dollars floating around the world, the government of the would strengthen, and the IMF would relieve the Fetch they get for theme of its risks. The advantage for the Saudintries might well want to exchange some of the sould strengthen the sould strengthen the sould strengthen the sould be guaranteed by the IMF. The oil-rich nations could use the new money for lending and investing, just like any other hard currency.

But if the system is to work, the U.S. must ultimately correct its huge trade deficits. That means it would have to take extreme steps to conserve and develop energy. Will it? Says Zombanakis: "America has everything, but it develop energy. Will it? says Zombanakis: "America has everything, but it do not have the willingness to lower its standard of living to develop its resources."

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Gloria Foster and Morgan Freeman

Theater

Liquid Fire

CORIOLANUS by William Shakespeare

Coriolanus is Shakespeare's prickliest hero. We first see him berating the Roman plebeians as scum simply because they want some bread for their empty bellies. Next we marvel at the man's unmatched valor as he bests the Volscians, sometimes in singlehanded combat. The man of flinty aristocratic pride storms into view when he is honored with the rank of Roman consul, only to be banished when he reviles the tribunes of the commoners instead of currying their favor with mock humility and an ostentatious public display of his battle scars. When he turns against Rome and joins its enemies in a temper tantrum of crazed revenge, he is a scalded boy bent on killing the dearest thing he loves.

It takes an actor of liquid fire and the keenest intelligence to carry all of that off, and Morgan Freeman accomplishes it in this rousing production of the play at Joseph Papp's off-Broadway Public Theater. It also requires one other thing, a figure of equal mettle in the tigress role of Coriolanus' mother, Volumnia.

Gloria Foster not only takes the stage, ser rules it. With impassioned grandeur, she drives her lethal lance of love through her son's vulnerable heart. She Joines in his martial wounds, she would rather see him dead than have his honor stained. With her pleas, she saves Rome and deliver. Coriolaus to his doom. The look of ashen grief frozen on Foster's face at that moment is deadlined. Coriolaus to all the control of the

Milestones

BORN. To Tricia Nixon Cox, 33, Richard Nixon's older daughter, and Edward Cox, 32, lawyer: a son, Christopher Nixon Cox, their first child and Nixon's first grandson, second grandchild; in Manhattan.

MARRIED. Phyllis George, 29, television personality and former Miss America (1971); and John Y. Brown, 44, millionaire co-owner of basketball's Boston Celtics; both for the second time; in Manhattan.

MARRIED. Jill Clayburgh, 34, stage and film actress currently nominated for an Oscar for her role in *An Unmarried Woman*; and David Rabe, 39, playwright; she for the first time, he for the second; in Manhattan.

DIED. Per Haekkerup, 63, Danish politician and diplomat; of cirrhosis; in Copenhagen. As his nation's Foreign Minister from 1962 to 1966, Haekkerup lobbied for Denmark's admission into the Common Market (achieved in 1973), opposed the Viet Nam War and apartheid in South Africa.

DIED. Nelson Morgan Davis, 72, eccentric Canadian businessman: of drowning: in Phoenix. A native Ohioan who moved to Toronto in 1929. Davis amassed a fortune estimated at \$100 million with a string of manufacturing and transport companies. He once paid \$10,000 to have a metory of the more companies. The companies of the third of the companies of the third of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of the companies of the companies of the transport of the companies of th

DIED. John McLean Clifford, 74, former president of Curit's Publishing whose frugal reign failed to resuscitate the financially ill company, leading to the 1969 demise of its flagship magazine, the Saturday Evening Post; of cancer; in Santa Barbara, Calif. A lawyer, Clifford became president of the Philadelphia company in 1964, in-heriting bank debts totaling \$37 million. Though he showed a small surplus in 1966, he was unable to stem further losses and was ousted in 1968.

DIED, Léonide Fedorovich Massine, 83, pioneering dancer and choreographer who sought to synthesize all fields of art on the ballet stage; after a brief illness; in Cologne, West Germany. Invited at age 18 to join the Ballets Russes by Impresario Serge Diaghiley, who admired "his deep burning eyes in a face already touched by melancholy," the Moscow-born Massine scored his first great success in 1917, when he collaborated with Artist Pablo Picasso. Writer Jean Cocteau and Composer Erik Satie to produce Parade, thus turning the ballet world toward modernism. The wiry dancer, a naturalized U.S. citizen, was probably best known to the general public for his film performances in The Red Shoes and Tales of Hoffman.

DIED. Jean Monnet, 90, eminent French statesman; near Montfort-l'Amaury, France (see WORLD).

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Law

When Are Secrets Best Kept?

Two national security cases underline an old dilemma

National security and the Bill of Rights, it seems, are almost naturally at odds. How can the Government plug leaks and stop the press from publishing its secrets without muzzling free speech? How can it take any kind of national secrets at a fair and public trial? The answer has often been that it cannot. But last week the Government was back trying in two cases, one involving the Progressive magazine, and the other former Both cases illustrate the difficulty of



L. Patrick Gray III goes to court

Will graymail get him off the hook?

keeping secrets in an open society. A fortnight ago, Government lawyers got a ten-day restraining order to stop the Progressive and its editor, Erwin Knoll, from publishing an article describing how an H-bomb is built. At a hearing scheduled for next week, they will argue for permanently prohibiting publication. The Government's case appears strong: the article is accurate enough, say Government experts, to help other countries develop the bomb. And the 1954 Atomic Energy Act specifically bans dissemination of secret information about atomic weapons. But if the Government wins, it will be the first time a U.S. court has stopped the press from printing an article because it risks injuring the national security That is so even though laws have been

on the books since 1917 banning intentional disclosure of defense secrets that could harm the U.S. The laws are so broad and so murky that in theory they could be aimed at leakers and the press. In practice, however, they are used only on spies. Part of the reason is the First Amendment. But prosecuting leaks also runs a different risk: confirming that the leaked information is true, and disclosing even more secrets at a trial. This dilemma has vexed the Government for years in continuous training the profile attention. That is, until the Government began trying to prosecute its intelligence officials.

In the early and mid-'70s, a series of scandals rocked the intelligence establishment. The CIA and FBI were accused of engaging in illegal covert activities at home and abroad under the guise of national security. Out of congressional investigations came several indictments: Gray and two other FBI officials, Edward S. Miller and Mark Felt, were charged with conspiring to authorize illegal break-ins to track down members of the radical Weather Underground; former CIA Director Richard Helms and a pair of ITT officials were charged with lying to a Senate subcommittee in 1973 about plotting to overthrow Chilean President Salvador Allende Gossens. But in late 1977 Helms was allowed to plead no contest to watered-down charges that he misled the Senate, and this winter the Justice Department simply dropped charges against the ITT officials. Now it appears that the FBI case is also in danger of aborting. Why? National security. Lawyers for the accused insist that their clients cannot get a fair trial unless sensitive Government secrets are brought out. Rather than disclose them in court, the Justice Department has been avoiding trial altogether.

S enator Frank Church, who chaired the Senate subcommittee in 1973. harshly criticized the department's decision not to prosecute the ITT case. He called the national security claim "the same threadbare excuse so often used by the Nixon Administration to cover up its crimes." Others inveighed against "gravmail," a lighter shade of blackmail that defense attorneys legitimately or illegitimately use to try to force the Government to reveal information that it wants to keep secret. But the Government did try to get around the graymail defense in the ITT case by asking the judge to rule out irrelevant national security information privately in his chambers before going to trial. The judge refused, on the grounds that he lacked authority.

The Senate criminal justice subcommittee now wants to give courts that authority, with a bill that would require pretrial in camera hearings on the relevance of intelligence information. It is not a perfect solution—the Government must still decide whether to prosecute if the judge allows secrets to be disclosed.

In any event, the bill will not come in time to help the Government in the Fill case. Defense attorneys want to bring the Fill case. Defense attorneys want to bring with the Fill case. Defense attorneys want to bring with Palestinian generillas. Cuba and North Viet Nami. So far the Government with Palestinian generillas. Cuba and North Viet Nami. So far the Government Last week the judge agreed to try Felt and Miller separately from Gray, partly because they claim that they acted on Gray's orders. It appears that Felt and Circuits of the Computer of the Palestinian that they acted on Circuits Gray would bring our very sensi-



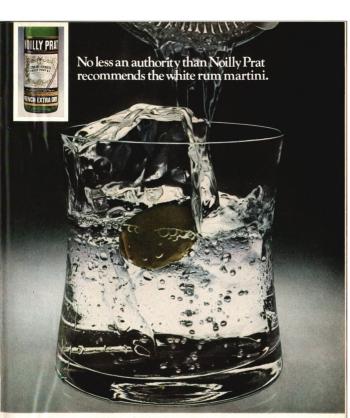
Progressive Editor Erwin Knoll

tive national security information, the Justice Department now concedes that

the ex-director may never be tried.

The pervasiveness of graymall is shown by a secrecy and disclosure sub-committee report last year that pointed out at least 30 cases that were never prosecuted to avoid further disclosure at a public trial. "People who are somehow connected with intelligence information have something like a license not only to kill, but to lie, stead, cheat and spy; "estified by the control of the cont

Congress at least seems to be in the mood to try. Pressure is growing for an overdue revision of national security laws. Whether Congress can better balance the inherent conflict between national security and the rights of fair trial and free press remains, however, to be seen.



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Playing Catch Up with Ozawa

The Boston Symphony Orchestra takes Shanghai by storm

Seiji Ozawa dreams big. "I am Janpanese," he sase, "But I was borapanese," he sase, "But I was borascian, My dream has been to come to China, me and the Boston Symphony, to play and teach and learn." Lat we have play and teach and learn." Lat we have play and teach suiscal instruments and equipment touched down in Shanghai. B.O. Contor the warry orthestra, which he had preceded into the country by a day.

The Boston Symphony's triumphal eight-day, four-concert trip to Shanghai and Peking did not come about as a dream. Ozawa, 43, who speaks some Chinese, and the symphony's general manager, Thomas W. Morris, 35, had been invited by Peking to visit next Docember, but when normalization came, they asked to push the tour date forward. The Chinese agreed. They were especially interested in Ozawa's offer to provide some coaching in the form of master classes.

Three years ago, such musical missionary work would have been unthinkable. Now, with the government's blessing. China's musicians are seeing guidance with a hunger and intensity that is daunting. Like everyone else whose work involved the intellect or, the arts, the nation's musicians saw their spiritual life ernsed for ten years by the Gang of Four. From 1966 to 978 Chinese orchesfour. From 1966 to 978 Chinese orchesnitic compositions; conservatories became inactive.

Today the doors are wide open. The very teachers and scholars who were forced to make themselves invisible are revered. There is a great demand for classical ballet and a fresh, unsatisfied curiosity about modern dance, particularly the work of Martha Graham. But most of the boom is in music. Last year there were 6,000 applications for 150 places at the Shanghai Conservatory. Says Tang Xuchen, 72, deputy director of the conservatory: "There is something that foreigners do not understand. Children were taught in secret, and anyway, the more you suppress a people, the stronger they become." Tang would like to take in more students, but the shabby facilities will not vet allow it

Welcoming banners festooned Shanghai, celebrating the Boston Symphony's first concert. The program included Verdi and Mozart, but it was Ozawa's showy reading of Berlioz's Symphonie Fantastique that drew an ovation from the normally reserved Chinese. At times the sheer commotion of the visit threatened to engulf any real musical results. The center of excitement was the conservatory. When Vicinits Joseph Shlverstein wandered into a studio where Situ Dahong. 18, was practicing, the room was quickly jammed by other students, teachers and members of the press, including a CBS camera crew in full armor. The young man kept playing a Bach adagio, but it was a feat of poise. The next day, 500 violinists came for Silverstein's masor refinement of sound to go by.' For Ozawa the biggest task was trying to rehearse the Shanghai Philharmonic in Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 6 "Pathétique." As usual, time was limited. He seized the moment quickly, placing members of his own orchestra among local players so that Boston Symphony Orchestra musicians could demonstrate a point of technique rapidly. Then he plunged ahead, a riveting little figure dressed to silk-screen perfection in a mod-Mao white suit by Designer Hanae Mori. He virtually pummeled the unruly sound into order and expressiveness, right leg stamping the beat, arms punching deep



The conductor (left) toasting Vice Mayor Yen Yumin

After the Gang of Four, hunger, intensity and a taste of Berlioz.

ter class, some from hundreds of miles away. Only the tubs (ten) and the harp (20) drew fewer than 50 people. In all the studios the air was thick with concentration. Oboist Ralph Gomberg counseled no jittery student: "You don't hear the notes if you play it too fast." Flutist Seniek Smith used one phrase in a piece called *The Flute of Pan* to try to loose some spontaneity in his cautious players. "Do you know who Pan is?" he asked. They did not; he explained.

when the classes were over, orchestra members were surrounded by people wanting their autographs. Clarinetist Harold Wright signed his name to a paper and then said. "My God, that's a passport." The Boston players were full of admiration for the students' ability, but shocked by their equipment. Most instruments are either bad or terrible. Strings on violins and cellos are steel-cheap, durable, but incapable, as Ozawa says, of making "a mild tone." The conservatory library is sparse and quirky. If the Chinese were brilliant and intense in their execution, they were also rigid. Said one Boston player, "They have been so isolated for so long. They have no concept of style into the recalcitrant horn section. The tour was expensive (\$650,000 put up by corporations, and a third of that by Coca-Cola), and pitifully brief. But last week it seemed as if the Chinese thought the Boston Symphony Orchestra had brought Western classical music intact off their jet. The musicians left behind sets of gut strings, pounds of musical scores and manuscript paper. They also promised to find a way to get some Chinese students to next summer's festival at Tanglewood. Ozawa was careful to point out that this would be a good bargain for both: "Americans need to see the intensity of Chinese playing."

Chilines pushing.

The pushing of the musical shock troops beingingly. He knows very well the problems of bad instruments and issue in. Says he: "We have just come out of a cultural stratificket. Dance music, not instance, was not in favor even before the Gang of Four. But we study in the control of the c



Maui: America's Magic Isle

For malihinis and faithful whales, a last paradise in the sun

Long, long ago, legend has it, the demigod Maui became incensed with the sun. It passed too swiftly over his Hawaiian island, leaving little time for fruits to ripen or womenfolk to dry their tapa cloth. So, with a web of 16 ropes, Maui lassoed the sun. "Give me my life," pleaded Sol. "I will," replied the demigod, "if you promise to move more slowly across our sky." The sun consented, and to this day, islanders swear, its arc is longer, its rays more generous than anywhere else on earth. And ever since, Maui's mighty volcano has been known as Haleakala. House of the Sun.

aui's magic is as potent as ever, except that today he casts his net at the malihinis, the strangers from all over who swarm to his Valley Island by the thousands, bearing millions. They do not come to Maui for the Don Ho-hula-grass skirt-sarongmuumuu-mai tai-lei-and-luau scenario that, in mainlanders' eyes at least, has become to Hawaii what Mickey Mouse is to Disney World or the one-armed bandit to Las Vegas. They come for some of the world's most spectacular scenery and a variety of activities unmatched by any comparable area on earth. They come to sun, snorkel, scuba, skinny-dip, surf, sail and swim at 33 miles of superb public beaches; to cruise the crystalline waters on glass-bottomed boat, catamaran, windjammer or outrigger canoe; to golf, play tennis, deep-sea fish and surfcast; to flightsee by helicopter; to beach-walk, backpack, camp, climb, ride horseback, bicycle, nature-walk, bird-watch, whale-gaze, explore, eat, drink, shop and be entertained, all on a 729-sq.-mi. isle about half the size of Long Island, N.Y. Largely pristine and un-Waikikied, it may be the last paradise with panache

Maui, a tiny Rorschach splotch in the North Pacific, is pounded by breakers, caressed by potpourri-fragrant trade winds, usually blessed in some parts by 350 days a year of that still obedient sun. Maui is a microcosm of the world's landscapes and climates. Temperatures range from subarctic to subtropic; rainfall from 3 in. to 400 in. (but this winter the whole island was drenched with a near record rainfall); the terrain from soaring peaks, impenetrable jungles and black lava promontories to viridian uplands, gossamer

On the same 20° N. latitude line as Hong Kong, Mecca, Mexico City and Calcutta, Maui (pop. 54,000) is the second biggest, second youngest (some 15 million years old) of the 132 islands of the 50th and southernmost state. Maui County attracts more visitors than any other of the islands (1.414.867 in 1978, up 12.5% over

falls and beaches of bleached sand

the previous year). Oahu (Waikiki Beach, Pearl Harbor) is seriously overbuilt and overcrowded; Hawaii ("the Big Island") is famed for its volcanoes and rugged natural beauty but has few beaches and little action for the tourist; Kauai has great, uncrowded, golden beaches and a lush interior but not much else; Molokai also has superb beaches, but only one hotel and an arid interior.

Maui, with its rain forests and high volcanic range, boasts some 1,300 of the higher plants that exist only in the Hawaiian Islands. Indigenous birds include the black-necked stilt, the claw-footed nene, the short-eared owl and the bluefaced booby, and there are such unique fauna as the monk seal, the hoary bat and the predacious caterpillar. (There are no snakes on the islands.) Maui's waters teem with more than 700 species of fish, perhaps 20% of which are to be found only in Hawaii. The island's most faithful visitor is the humpback whale, the sportive, 40-ton leviathan that returns each winter to the Lahaina roadstead to play and calve and enthrall the onlooker.

If the island were barren, if it had no majestic koa trees or coconut palms or fern forests, no hibiscus, begonia, bougainvillaea, poinsettia, u'ulei, mamane or hinahina blossoms, it would be worth visiting for Haleakala alone. It is among the





world's largest dormant volcanoes-it has not erupted since 1790-and its brooding presence dominates Maui. The crater of 10,000-ft.-high Haleakala (pronounced Hah-lee-ah-kah-lah) is seven miles long. two miles across and half a mile deep. While it has almost no vegetation save for patches of glistening silversword, the crater is dotted with rose-tipped cinder cones, evidence of minor eruptions over the centuries. It resembles nothing so much as a lunar landscape, and indeed was used as an off-off-planet tryout by the astronauts who made the first moon landing. The center of a 28,000-acre national park, Haleakala can be traversed by shanks' mare or mule train, a threeday mountain high.

he islands are as delightful to the philologist as they are to the bird watcher or plant stalker. All Hawaiian place names have meanings, poetic or factual. Maui's Wajanapanapa, site of a 120-acre, stream-laced state park, is "glistening water." There are Iao (valley of dawning inspiration), Kapilau (sprinkle of rain on leaves), Lanilili (rippling surface) and Waiakoa (waters used by warrior). Kaanapali is "rolling cliffs." It is comforting when boating off Wailea to know that the "waters [are] governed by Lea," goddess of canoe making. Lahaina is "land of prophecies. Maui is neither easy nor cheap to get

to, reports TIME Correspondent William Blaylock. Its Kahului Airport has been deliberately kept small so that it cannot handle direct flights from the mainland; jet passengers must disembark at Honolulu and transfer by cab (\$3) or Wiki-











Tennis players working out at Whaler's Village courts; golfers approaching a palm-fringed hole at Kaanapali; wind surfers at Waihikuli

Wiki bus to the Aloha or Hawaiian Airlines terminal for the 20-min. onward flight to the Valley Isle, and may then have to rent a car to reach their destinations, Explains Elmer F. Cravalho, 53, the diminutive (5 ft. 5 in.), tough-minded descendant of Portuguese immigrants who has been Maui's mayor for the past eleven years: "We want the people who come to Maui to make a conscious choice that this is where they want to be. We don't want the people who go for the rockbottom cheapest tour package. Maui is only for people who are willing to make the effort to get here.

ne reason that so many are willing is that for many mainlanders the gloss has gone off some once fashionable Caribbean and Mexican resorts. The dollar is worth a dollar, almost. The natives speak English, sort of. It is a fairly easy hop for U.S. Westerners, who account for 80% of Maui's visitors (though 600 people a day flew from New York City en route to Maui on United alone last year). Though here and there a McDonald's, a Pizza Hut, a Baskin-Robbins has sprouted, it is still possible on Maui to rediscover the idvllic Hawaii of swaying palms and hips that Robert Louis Stevenson, Mark Twain and Jack London described so affectionately. More than 75% of the island is gloriously uninhabited and is likely to remain so. Only 2,650 acres are zoned for resort use, while 242,408 acres are reserved for cropland. Sugar cane is Maui's premier crop, yielding some 200,000 tons of sugar a year, the Ahi, ono and macadamia nut pie are brok'd'moutt.

world's highest per-acre yield; the third biggest crop is pineapple. The second most valuable crop? Pakalalo, a.k.a. marijuana. Grown illicitly, of course, in rain forests and cane fields that are well-nigh impossible to police, Maui Wowie is reputedly the world's most potent pot, selling for \$140 per oz.

Tourism, however, is the island's biggest money spinner (\$176 million, vs. \$65 million from agriculture in fiscal 1977). Maui's seven major resort hotels have an occupancy rate of well over 90%, a phenomenon that actually distresses the hoteliers because they hardly have time to change the sheets between check-out and



Dining on the terrace at the Inter-Continental Hotel

check-in. Not at all unhappy are the property developers who are dotting condominiums around the hotels on what was useless brush and mesquite land a few years ago. If Maui in the past century was ravaged by diseases brought in by outsiders, the island today is in the throes of a more benign importation. It could be called condo fever. Symptoms:

► More than 1.000 people gathered at Kapalua last July to engage in a form of real estate roulette. The names of "registered" prospective buyers of condominiums were spun in a revolving cage to decide which 134 lucky ones would get the chance to shell out an average \$205,000 each for unbuilt one- or two-bedroom town-

house units on leasehold land, with projected ground rent and maintenance charges of \$300-\$400 a month. ▶ Over in Wailea last April, more than 500 bidders were on hand to try their luck at 148 condos at Ekolu Village. Prices ranged from \$150,000 to \$230,000, and may have been a bargain at that. Neighboring Ekahi (first) Village opened three years ago with 294 units. A beachfront house there soared in value from \$275,000 to \$575,000 in one year. A one-thirdacre building lot that went for \$80,-

At the Whaler, a twelve-story high-rise in Kaanapali, a two-bedroom apartment that sold for \$175 .-000 in 1973 is worth \$450,000 today. ▶ One of every 25 Maui residents is in the real estate business. Says Teney Takahashi, 40, the energetic, Oahu-born president of Amfac Communities-Maui, the island's first big-

000 fetched \$163,000 some 18 months







Hotel Hana-Maui guests riding quarter horses through Marlboro country en route to a luau; a cluster of new condominiums at Kapalua

time real estate developer. "I'm not kid-ding you, we just can't build 'em fast enough." Francis Blackwell. 54, Boston-ben esceutive director of the Man County Vestion Association, beautier with the property of the propert

There is little likelihood that Maui will be another South Sea Bubble. A brake on runaway development is the island's limited water supply, to which agriculture

has first claim. Moreover, a real estate developer is compelled to divert equivalent acreage to cropland for every acre he takes out of production. Mayor Cravalho foresees a maximum future growth of 35% in hotel and condominium construction. Meanwhile, Maui has the lowest real property tax rate and bonded indebtedness in all of Hawaii. Its pricey real estate is bolstered in value by such intangibles as ambience and climate, but also by solid surroundings: beaches, swimming pools, stores, arts and crafts centers, restaurants, a

es, almost back to back, at least one of international calibre, and two more are abuilding. Ekahi condo owners alone have access to via golf courses, four swimming profits and eleven to some by its profits and eleven to some by its research of the control of the coners, a three-bedroom town house can rent for up to \$260 a night; if shared by two visting couples with children, the rental can provide cheaper lodgings than a hotel, and swimsuits for a home-cooked dinner!

The first and still biggest pleasure complex to sprout in the wilderness, in 1962, was the Kaanapali Beach Resort on Maui's west coast, overlooking the

cioud-capped, green-velve islands of Molokai and Lanati On 470 acres girdled by three miles of wide white sand beach. Kaanapali has more than 2.200 rooms divided among the Sheraton-Maui, Royal Lahaina (the island's largest). Kaanapall Beach and Maui Surf hotels. Other Kaanapalital hurse include two championship golf courses (several couples each year get married on the 18th hole); 20 tennis courts; Whater's Village, a 30store shopping complex, and an airstrip vice whisks the visitor in Cessna luxury to and from Honolub Henry A. Walk-

er Jr., chairman and president of Amfac, Inc., owners of the resort, is developing a \$4 million, seven-acre Hawaiian Sea Village, resurrecting the islands' ancient arts and crafts. A few miles to the north is Kapalua, whose Bay Hotel opened last October. Operated by Rockresorts, the 196room hotel has a superb golf course (the 334-vd. 13th green is framed by two beaches); another course is under construction. On the southwest coast is the charming 350-room Wailea Beach Hotel and its two golf courses, which also opened in 1978. The adjoining, three-year-old, 600-room Inter-Continental Maui is perhaps the chain's most elegant



tennis stadium; there are already eight golf course already eight golf course. In a pristine setting, a variety of activities unmatched by any comparable area.



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Living

hostelry; it put up 2,500 honeymoon couples last year.

That's not all. South of Waitea, Seibu Hawaii Inc., a Japansea company, is building a six-story, 300-room hotel on 1000 acres—with a golf course, of course. Within the Kaanapali complex, a Hyatt Regency, now half-built, will open in 1980. The S80 million, triple-towered, S20-room hotel, the biggest single construction project in Hawaiian history, will feature, among other things, a mini-Niagara surging through a lobby the size of three football fields.

ar removed from the resort-condo centers is Hana, edging the rain forest on the east coast. It was from Hana's shores in 1778 that King Kamehameha the Great glimpsed the first of the tall ships that were to impose Western so-called civilization on Hawaii; the ship's English captain, James Cook. mapped the island, which he spelled Mowee.* Though Hana can be reached in minutes by air, driving there is half the fun. The shoestring road, with 617 switchback bends and 56 one-way bridges, bumples through a jungle of bamboo, fern, maune loa vines, breadfruit, mango, banyan, banana, kukui and hau trees, perfumed by guava and wild ginger. Then, out of the forest and into the breeze, the white-knuckled driver arrives at the Hotel Hana-Maui, an island landmark.

A 30-year-old retreat for the reclusive, recherché and rich, from Gable to Streisand, the Hana caravansary sprinkles its pastel-colored bungalows (only 57 rooms) over 20 acres of manicured grass, perched between a 14,000-acre cattle ranch and the sandy half-moon of Hamoa Beach. Manager Tony de Jetley, an urbane Englishman who is married to a beautiful Hawaiian curiously named Alberta, enumerates 69 regular activities for hotel guests and their children; they range from frond weaving and night tide-pool fishing to breakfast cookouts and quarterhorse riding through terrain often photographed for Marlboro ads. Some families return to Hana as faithfully as Maui's whales. Charles Lindbergh, who lived for seven years with his wife Anne in Hana, is now buried there. Near by are the Seven Pools, two of which are favored by skinny-dippers: Poohahoahoa (meaning getting heads together) and Nakalaloa (complete forgiveness of sin)

On the other side of Haleakala, on the codu plands above Wailea, on a clear day you can see, if not forever, a dazing, dappled distance of meadow, mountain and sea. At the 2000- to 3,000-ft, level, a host of small farms raise a cornucopia of vegetables, fruits and flowers, notably lychee, avocado, guaxu, the applesweet Kula onion and protea, the flower of a thousand exquisite shapes.

At 2,000 ft., on C. Pardee Erdman's 30,000-acre Ulupalakua ranch, speckled *To this day, the state flag incorporates the Union MAUI

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with volcanic boulders, cactus and 6,000 head of cattle, is Hawaii's only vineyard. It was carved out by Emil Tedeschi, 36, an émigré from a Napa Vallev wine-making clan. After experimenting with 140 varieties of grape, he has planted 15 acres in Carnelian, a cross between Cabernet, Grenache and Carignane. While the first bottles of his red wine will not reach their prime until 1984, a tasting of an early vintage reveals body and character. Meanwhile, Oenologist Emil and his chemistwife Joanne are making a pineapple wine they call Maui Blanc. It has a fruity aroma but, considering its origin, is a clear. reasonably dry and inexpensive (\$3.99) bottle that could go as well with the sorbet as a costly sauterne.

Most island visitors prefer Scotch or martinis. After soaping off the Coppertone, they generally settle for dinner and dreams. For the indefatigable, however, there is nightlife on Maui. There are waiting lines outside the Lost Horizon disco at the Wailea Beach Hotel; the Royal Lahaina's Foxy Lady packs in upper teenagers and the Tommy Dorsey set in equal numbers. The island's hottest spot is the Bluemax, in the town of Lahaina, where visiting Elton John and Linda Ronstadt have done their stuff off the cuff; the place is packed nightly in hopes that other drop-in stars may relieve the resident combo

Indeed, by night or day, the island's fun-and-pames fulcrum is Lahaina (pro-nounced La-high-nah), a one-street, six-block town with the raffish aurar of Virginia City cum Tijuana. Once the playground of Hawaiian royalty, and later in the 19th century a major port for whaling ships and China citippers, the clapboard community has been restored to a state of authentic tackiness. La-

haina boasts some 30 restaurants and about 260 stores whose offerings range from elegant scrimshaw and touristy puka-shell necklaces to T shirts with slogans like DON'T HASSLE THE HUMPBACKS, MALTI NO KA OI (Maui is the best) and HERE TODAY GONE TO MAUI. OIL to thousing batter from the court's bustling waterfront, tourists craim about the 50-ft, glass-bottomed boat Coral See, the 65-ft, glass-bottomed boat Coral See

ater this year the Lahaina Restoration Foundation will have almost totally rebuilt Carthaginian II (named for the fictional vessel in James Michener's Hawaii), which will be a true replica of a 19th century trader. One of the foundation's major enterprises is a marine research center which is trying to preserve the endangered humpbacks, of which there are perhaps only 850 left. (By dialing 667-9316 you can hear them "singing.") The foundation has also restored to Victorian primness the home of the Baldwin family, pioneer missionaries and landowners of whom the natives still say: "They came here to do good and did right well." Near by, Baldwin ghosts may note with horror, aging flower children
—"bamboo tourists"—dicker for Maui Wowie. Thanks to the tourist boom. Lahaina today has three times as many permanent inhabitants (some 10,000) as it

Not least among the island's beauties are its beauties. Maui boasts some of the world's most exotic women. Many flashing-eyed, sinous wahines are hapa-haole, meaning half Caucasian; others are apparently products of every conceivable ethnic mix. Of the larger islands Maui has the state's biggest proportion of Polynesian-descended Hawaiians and part

did in the 1840s, whaling's heyday.

Living

Hawaiians (26.3%), though they are slightly outnumbered by islanders of Japanese origin (26.4%); the other major non-Caucasian strain is Filipino (17%), followed by Chinese and Korean. Thus while Hawaiian, a melodious language that the missionaries alphabetized into a mere twelve characters, is still spoken and sung on the island, many natives converse in pidgin English, the world's most colorful lingua franca. A dark-hued hotel waiter, cussed out by an irate Texan who has received the soup in his lap, retorts: "Eh, now, no take out on me, you stupid buggah! Udderwise bimeby I gone broke your head in small tiny pieces.

Pidgin for a mouth-watering dish is brok'd'moutt (it breaks the mouth). While Hawaiian cuisine may never break Michelin's mouth, Maul offers some distinctive delicacies ophis (yellow limpets) eaten raw, chicken stewed in coconut milk, kuolo (occonut and sweet-potato pudding) and macadamia-nut pie, aloha cousin to Southern pecan pie; also, almost all the island's fish, notably mahimahi (dolphin), ahi (tuna), ono (wahoo), opakapaka (pink snapper), akule (mackerel) and aquaculturally raised catfish, all of which are often served in a papillote of ti leaves; and all the tropical fruits like papaya, persimmon, pineapple, lilikoi (passion fruit), guava and dozens of wild berries. Between meals, there are Dewey Kobayashi's famed Kitch'n Cook'd potato chips, which are unobtainable on the mainland at any price. Whether for malihinis or for themselves, Mauians, like all Hawaiians, dish up gargantuan meals, fit for a 300-lb. Queen Namahana. "Mo is bettah!" they say.

estaurants have bloomed like mamane flowers; there are some 160, most of them so-so or ho-ho. Among the best: Inter-Continental's La Pérouse (where the resident harp player is truly named Holly Angel), Wailea Beach's Raffles, Robaire's, Kimo's and Chez Paul, a French bistro in a beat-up storefront near Lahaina that is owned by a Boston Irishman named Paul Kirk (fortunately, his French wife Fernande presides over the stove).

The better places do not curdle the diner's juices with Tin Pan Aloha plunkplunk music. Some of the most memorable songs are English or American ballads rendered in Hawaiian to a Hawaiian beat: The Battle Hymn of the Republic sounds terrific that way. Many other chants have their island-English versions. to wit: The Twelve Days of Christmas, in which "my tutu [grannie] give to me one mynah bird in one papaya tree, two coconut, three dried squid, four flower lei, five fat pig. six hula lesson, seven shrimp aswimming, eight ukulele, nine pound of poi, ten can of beer, eleven missionary and twelve television.

A more magnanimous tutu would surely have thrown in one \$500,000 condo and two grilled mahimahi filets. Mo is bettah! Brok'd'moutt! Thank you, Sun!

— Michael Demarest

Education

Grammarphone

Dial U for Usage

Should you write "in the 1960s" or "in the 1960s"? Is it "a U.S. Representative" or "an U.S. Representative". Where does the apostrophe go in "the Smiths' (or Smiths) car"?* Fifteen times a day, on the average, telephone callers put these questions to an Emporia State University English instructor with the appropriate

name of Faye Vowell. Vowell, who presides with consonance over the university's writing lab in Emporia, Kans., offers free guidance on a writer's hot line, a Dial-a-Grammarian service for students and anyone else who calls with a question about correct usage. Other such lines have sprung up lately at the University of Arkansas in Little Rock, Ark., and the Johnson County Community College near Kansas City, Kans. "We get several calls a week from California alone," says Arkansas English Instructor Michael Montgomery. The most common questions concern the correct use of who vs. whom, and which vs. that. The most frequent callers are secretaries struggling with their bosses' dictation. But college faculty members and local magazine editors have also rung up the helpfully unsilent Vowell and her colleagues.
The hot lines are less than two years old, and growing steadily in popularity. The phone service costs Arkansas and Johnson County next to nothing, since instructors and graduate students from writing labs are regularly assigned to phone duty, and the callers pay for their own calls. But at Emporia the service is



"The answers: 1) Either 1960s or 1960's correct; 2) 'a U.S. Representative"; 3) 'Smiths' car." So far, nobody is throwing Fowler to the winds.

costing the English department roughly an extra \$100 per month, because the university pays for calls made to its tollfree number from anywhere in the state of Kansas.

Since it is easier to phone somebody than to look something up, the hot line may prove more of a debilitating crutch than a boon to education. But so far, some the hot-line faculties report, Kansasstudents have not thrown their Fowlers to the winds. The service has led to more, rather than less, concern about learning usage.

TIME Reporter Tim Miller tested the hot lines by making in-formal calls to all three colleges. Emporia State and Arkansas, but not Johnson County, corrected his run-on sentence ("Enrollments will continue to decline, no change in the pattern is in sight") and his incorrect use of "less" for "fewer" ("Less students are enrolled this year than last"). The response was no better when he wanted to check out the more subtle misuse of "whom" in a subordinate clause ("They wanted to hire whomever was the best candidate"). A Johnson County instructor correctly insisted that Miller switch to "whoever," but at Emporia, an unidentified voice, presumably a graduate student, told Miller the sentence was correct as it stood. The quickest and surest correct answers to all three questions were provided by Little Rock's Montgomery, who mans his hot line during morning hours. His number: 501-569-3162

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Books

The Man Who Could Only Say Nyet

TO BUILD A CASTLE-MY LIFE AS A DISSENTER by Vladimir Bukovsky Translated by Michael Scammell: Viking: 438 pages: \$17.50

he literature of the Soviet Union's po-The literature of the Soviet Chion of Intical dissidents continues to crowd the imagination like a 19th century novel. Tolstov. Dostovevsky and Chekhov echo in the dramatic testimony of Solzhenitsyn, Sinyavsky, Daniel, Sakharov, Medvedev and Mandelshtam. Vladimir Bukovsky's To Build a Castle adds the spirit of Lewis Carroll. His Soviet Union seems like a vertiginous rabbit hole lined in permafrost, or the other side of the looking glass, where the Red kings and queens of the Kremlin can sometimes be made to play by the rules.

There is no hope of mating such an opponent. Bukovsky, 36, played only to guarantee his rights under the Soviet Constitution and Criminal Code. His gambit was to exchange a third of his life in prisons and psychiatric clinics for the dignity of saying nyet. It gained him an international reputation for incorrigible heroics. In 1976 the Soviet government solved their embarrassment by swapping Bukovsky for Chilean Communist Luis Corvalán, then a prisoner of the Pinochet dictatorship. Today Bukovsky lives in England, where he has resumed his frequently interrupted study of biology

He will be remembered best as one of the great jailhouse lawyers. As a prisoner, with the right to petition any public official, Bukovsky clogged the arteries of bureaucracy with paper. His advice on how to tackle the system has universal application: "If you want your complaint to be examined by a high official, complain about his immediate subordinate ... And. most importantly of all, you should write enormous numbers of complaints and send them to the officials least equipped to deal with them." One objective of these tactics was to cause unsightly bulges in the official statistics, "the most powerful factor of all in Soviet life."

Thus Bukovsky exploited the rivalries and hidden disputes among the KGB, prison administrations, schools of psychiatry ies never won him liberty but a different form of freedom: the ability to choose jail over silence. His life as a moral goad was organized around the harsh facts of imprisonment. "Every time I was released." he writes, "my only thought was how to get as much done as possible, so that afterward, back in prison again, I wouldn't have to spend sleepless nights dwelling on lost opportunities."

Bukovsky made one of his first decisions at the age of ten. He quit the Young Pioneers, the Soviet equivalent of the Cub Scouts. He had been asked to reprimand another boy, did it blisteringly well, felt ashamed of himself and decided that "I couldn't and wouldn't play this idiotic role any longer." At 14 he refused to join the Komsomol, and at 16 he was running with a harmless group of youthful Pimpernels who sympathized with the Hungarian uprising.

few years later, his cycle of transgres-A sion and punishment became a routine. In 1961: expelled from Moscow University for arranging illegal poetry readings in Mayakovsky Square. In 1963: 15 months in a mental hospital for possessing photocopies of a Milovan Djilas book. In 1965: eight months for protesting the closed trials of Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel. In 1967: three years in a labor camp for supporting other critics of the system. In 1972: twelve years for telling Western journalists about Soviet psychiatric abuses

The concept of political dissent as a symptom of mental illness is hard to imagine except as an obscenity. Bukovsky is properly outraged, both as victim and witness. But he is also bitterly amusing. For unlike most children of the Gulag, the author manages to combine the traditions of Dostovevsky's brooding victims with Gogol's antic farceurs. The more benign psychiatrists, he notes, diagnosed opposition as a mild form of paranoia that did not require special treatment. The hardliners called it "creeping schizophrenia" and prescribed agonizing sulfur injections.

Bukovsky concludes that it is the regime that is demented: "It doesn't require conscious citizens demanding legality, it requires slaves . . . It doesn't require partners, it requires satellites. Like a paranoiac, obsessed by a fantastic idea, it cannot and will not recognize reality.

When reality does break through it can be deeply self-abusive and cynical. A Soviet journalist tells Bukovsky that he is happy with Communism because it allows him to earn a good living writing dem-

Excerpt

I spent most of my time reading. Lefortovo had a wonderful library-it looked as if all the books confiscated from the enemies of the people over half a century had ended up here. Up and down the country they had 'purged' libraries and burned 'pernicious' books, while in here, everything was preserved as in an oasis. It had never occurred to anyone to purge the libraries of the KGB prisons-who could be holier than the pope? Prerevolutionary editions of Pushkin and Gogol, A.K. Tolstoy and Lermontoy. Hamsun and Maeterlinck. Marcel Proust and Zamyatin. What didn't they have in here?

The books were in excellent condition, but almost all their pages were covered with rubber stamps. 'Internal prison of the GUGB NKVD' was a prewar stamp, 'Investigation isolator of the KGB under the SM of the U.S.S.R.'was a modern stamp. And in capital letters running from top to bottom of the entire page: 'Any damage done to books or marking of the text by pencil, matches, fingernails, etc., will result in the withdrawal of library



Books

agogic rubbish. "In a normal country," he says, "they wouldn't let me within a mile of the press! What would I be doing? Working as a navvy." The most pervasive reality, bureaucratic absurdity, allows Bukovsky to score even in the last wild moments of his cantivity.

"'We have crossed the Soviet border,' says the KGB agent, 'and it is my duty to inform you officially that you have been expelled from the territory of the U.S.S.R.' 'Do you have some sort of decree or

order?'
'No, nothing.'

'No, nothing.'

'And what about my sentence? Has it been quashed?'

'No, it remains in force.'

'So, I'm sort of a prisoner on holiday, on vacation?'
'Sort of.'"

"They don't ever know either how to jail or release you properly," concludes Bukovsky. The Inspector General could not have said it better. — R.Z. Sheppard

Man Behind The Tube

AS IT HAPPENED by William S. Paley Doubleday; 418 pages; \$14.95

Anybody who can flip a TV dial knows what the public wants. But the art of broadcasting, writes William Paley, "is to know what the public is seeking before the public even knows it is looking for something eie." As a guide, that advice is about as useful as buy low, seeking before the public even knows it is looking for something eies." As a guide, that advice is about as useful as buy low, and that the soften charming memoir, he has been able to follow his own prescription for almost half a century.

Paley's rise to prominence started from the top. His grandfather owned a prosperous lumber business in the Ukraine and represented the Car in his provincial town. When he anticipated Czarist pogroms and emigrated to the U.S. in 1888, he brought enough money to think about retiring. The treasure was

soon lost through bad investments, but Paley's father Samuel made his own fortune manufacturing cigars. Young Bill joined the family business and quickly proved an adept salesman; one of his special delights was putting together a show called *The La Palina Smoker* on that new thing everybody was talking about: radiking about radiking

Even The La Palina Smoker was no enough to keep aliev United Independent Broadcasters, the tiny network on which it was heard; in 1928 the owner approached Paley's father and offered to selltion in his own account, grabed the bargain, a mealy 500,000, and ran. Unisuity of the companies of the conpanies of the companies of the contraction of the companies of the contraction of the companies of the contraction of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the companies of the companies of the comtraction of the companies of the co

49. Along the way, it was renamed CBS. In those innocent days the big names in show business were frightened by radio. Paley set out to win them, and before long such famous names as Paul Whiteman and Will Rogers had been tempted before the microphones, where they found even greater recognition.

Trying to win prestige for his network. Paley even laid siege to the Metropolitan Opera, whose president and chairman, Financier Otto Kahn, was outraged that anyone would want to hear a mezzo-soprano through the static of the air waves. At last Paley persuaded him to come to his office and hear a performance he had piped in. "We heard the overture." he relates, "and several minutes of singing into the first act and still no one reacted. Then Kahn leaped to his feet and exclaimed: 'I can't believe it. It's simply marvelous and just imagine, hearing that wonderful music and those marvelous voices and we don't have to look at those ugly faces!'

Unfortunately, once he was persuaded to broadcast over radio, Kahn was also persuaded to give the Met to Paley's archival, the older, larger, and more prestigious NBC. CSB was to remain the underdog for nearly two more decades, until, in the late '40s, CBs began the "Paley radis," luring away NBC's biggest stars, in-

cluding Jack Benny and Amos 'n' Andy. Show business is only as good as its stars, and NBC never really recovered. CBS swiftly surpassed its rivals in both radio and TV, and remained serenely ahead, an almost imperial power, until it was finally topped by ABC in 1976.

The story of CBS is never less than fascinating, but Paley's memoir, alas, tends to falter toward the end. Once he leaves the glory days of radio, the book becomes increasingly guarded and corporate in tone. "I don't think I am a very easy person to know," he admits in his preface. and then spends several hundred pages proving it, leaving his personal feelings. except his love for his late wife Babe, largely hidden. Renowned for his superb taste, he may have been hurt by it in this book. In the writing of memoirs, as in the production of shows, too much caution causes the audience to nod and think ofotherchannels - Gerald Clarke

Jambalaya

THE CAJUNS: FROM ACADIA TO LOUISIANA by William Faulkner Rushton Farrar, Straus & Giroux 342 pages: \$15.95

as call him the "Ragin" Cajun" and "Louisna Lightini". By any other name he is Ron Guidfy, the best pitcher in baseball—and the best known of that group of 900,000 French-speaking Louisnianias, descendants of French farmer-fashermen, who live in the bayue ocurity for Guidry's left arm. Cajuns are known mostly by hearsay. They are reputed to play strange-sounding accordion music, make a mean gumbo, and generally be as colorful as the crawfash in their bayous. The rumors are right, as Journalist cook in the country of the count

Their roots are romantic enough. The Cajunis Acadian (Nova Socialna ancestors founded a colony on Canada's Bay of Flundy in 1604, and by 1755 had transformed the wilderness into a bucolic countryside. Then came as cheming English Governor who hated the French. In an act of genocied that Henry Wadsworth Longfellow latter made a cause célébre with his poem called the social proposed of the latter made a cause célébre with his poem of Acadians only prisons hips and scattered them throughout the Old and New Worlds.

words, who has he was very seen and seen their way to Levisiana's "Acadian Coast," a new mecca on the Mississippi From there, they filtered into the woods, turning into the dialectal "Cajuns" along the way. Those who went south into the swamps became the ancestors of todays fishermen and trappers. Those who rest south of the man's western prairies, rode into another part of American folklore the West.



Columbia Broadcasting System Chairman William S. Paley, with one of the early TV cameras Staving on too from lumber to cigars to the most competitive business in the world.

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A Meeting of Minds

Symposium in Washington... toward a stronger U.S.-Japan partnership in the 1980s

A symposium on the Changing U.S. -Japan Economic Partnership was held in Washington, D.C., on Feb. 8-9 to establish broader communication and better understanding between the world's two largest market economies. The Symposium attracted some 200 delegates and participants from both countries including some of the best minds in business, government, finance, media, economics and research. Although three ambassadors and many government officials attended, the symposium was conducted in a free-wheeling, no-holds-barred atmosphere seldom found in bi-national meetings.

The symposium was hosted by Nihon Keizai Shimbun, the leading economic newspaper in Japan, and the Japan Economic Research Center, a private, non-profit organization.

Hope for Improvement

Both American and Japanese participants explored issues relating to the current trade imbalance and the possibility that this imbalance might lead to a collision. Beyond the bare statistics of U.S.-Japan bilateral trade, the delegates came to grips with the emotional and communications issues which exacerbate the situation.

During the course of the discussions, the participants tended to put greater emphasis on finding ways to strengthen the U.S.-Japan partnership rather than casting blame. Evidence of improvements in U.S.-Japan trade relations was often pointed out.

— The president of a Midwest mercantile exchange noted the Japanese relaxation of quotas affecting U.S. agricultural exports as a result of the Strauss-Ushiba agreement in January 1978 and the recent Tokyo Round negotiations.

— On the subject of U.S. high-quality beef exports, Yutaka Yoshioka, international affairs adviser to the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, noted that 4,000 metric tons would be added to the Japanese quota in fiscal 1980 and 10,000 metric tons in 1981 through 1983.

"The time is right for U.S. business to increase exports to Japan," an American business executive said, noting recent exchange rate advantages coupled with high-level government commitments on both sides to ease tensions.

— There are signs that Japan's trade surplus with the U.S. is shrinking. Although the surplus reached an all-time high of \$11.6 billion in 1978, this surplus tended to shrink from \$3.1 billion in the first quater of the year to \$2.2 billion in the final quarter. It was also observed that the dollar value of American exports to Japan in the fourth quarter of 1978 increased by some \$45 berent over the same period of the previous year. — Several specific steps toward solution of the trade problems were mentioned by Tatsuro Coto, vice chairman and executive director of Mitsui & Company (Japan) and chairman of Mitsui & Company (J.S.A.). One of the steps was the Japanese-sponsored trade mission to the U.S. last year which signed import contracts worth \$2 billion. He also noted Japan's agreement to limit its exports of color TV sets to the U.S., which resulted in a decline of 23 percent during 1978.

Putting the symposium into a wider focus, former Japanese Ambassador to the U.S. Nobuhiko Ushiba said the Japanese-American relationship is "much broader, more complex and more important to our peoples than trade alone." In the closing address, the emphasized the need for "an increasingly interdependent partnership" to meet the challenges of the 1980x.

Dissatisfaction Not One-Sided

A former U.S. Ambassador to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development said, "It would be wrong to suppose that all the dissatisfaction is on the American side of the Pacific." He noted "palpable dismay," in Japan concerning continued high U.S. oil consumption, despite the promises of three American presidents to curb it.

Japanese trade barriers, he pointed out, "have been significantly reduced since 1972." He added that Japan's exports have been declining in "real terms since last spring" while import volume has been rising.

Speaking from the standpoint of a "pragmatic Japanese businessman," Kiichiro Kiitaura saw the trade imbalance as the greatest current obstacle to the development of new economic relations. Kitaura, chairman of the Nomura Securities Company and chairman of the board of the Tokyo Stock Exchange. acknowledged American impatience with the slow growth of Japanese domestic demand and with the complex distribution system which some see as hampering American exports. However, he also cited productivity differences, for example, the Japanese crude steel output per worker of 421 tons against 250 tons in the U.S.; insufficient export efforts by American businessmen, and U.S. inflation as contributing to the buse imbalance.

Kitaura saw some hope for increased direct investment in the U.S. by Japanese companies. Urging greater use of the Tokyo capital market by American corporations and government, he pointed to Japanese efforts to revamp this market, which he saw as one way to help improve the bilateral trade balance and achieve "expanded equilibrium of the world economy."

"Ambivalence" on Trade

A former U.S. Secretary of Commerce saw an "ambivalency" in both countries on the subject of trade and the world economy. "When we Americans discuss imports," he said, "we are invariably 'invaded, assaulted or flooded."

As did other speakers, he pointed to Third World market opportunities, rather than solely bilateral considerations, for a solution to the U.S. deficit and Japanese surplus. He called for additional Japanese involvement with the Third World, something bigger and bolder, on "the scope of the Marshall Plan."

Protectionism and Insecurity

Throughout the conference, the threat of protection is entiment arising on either side of the Pacific hung over the observations of the speakers, both Japanese and American, who saw the danger that a large U.S. deficit and a gap in perspective could lead to further trade barriers. This difference in perception, a Yale professor said, amounts to "acrisis of confidence on both sides." He said many in the U.S. see Japanese markets as closed to imports, while "the U.S. comes across as a big bully in Japan." He also said Japan has lost confidence in the American leadership's ability to manage the economy.

In a similar vein, Yasuo Takeyama, editor-in-chief of the Nihon Keizai Shimbun, commented that Japan

is no longer sure "whether there is a conceptual framework for U.S. policy," citing flimsy U.S. postures in the Middle East, Africa and Iran as basis for Japanese doubt.

More specifically, Takeyama and others pointed to the Japanese feeling of 'insecurity' on questions of food and energy — and doubts about the reliability of the U.S. as a supplier. He cited the soybean embargo and the 1973–74 oil crists as instilling this feeling.

A member of the U.S. Congress task force on U.S.-Japan trade emphasized that the Japanese-American trade relationship is fraught with friction and is, potentially, explosive.

To prevent a tide of protectionism swelling in the real improvement in the deficit and the 'perception' that the Japanese government is willing to make trade a 'two-way street.' He saw all three of these elements as operative in the current situation, noting that there and not been huge layoffs in recent months in various U.S. industries, and that there were 'hopeful signs on the Japanese side' of heightened sensitivity and awareness of the U.S. political scene.

American Initiative Needed

Another major theme, stressed particularly by American speakers, was the need for greater export initiative on the part of the American business community. The chairman of a leading American electronics firm suggested that the U.S. could learn from lapan's marketins success.

"It is only natural to attribute Japan's success to said in a keynote address. He recommended that U.S. business should not ask for government assistance without first carefully reviewing the reasons for Japanese success, which he gave as providing high-quality, cost-competitive products; understanding world markets and adapting products to differing cultures, and providing good after-sale service to build a strong base of satisfied repeat customers.

Japan Information Center

that Japan 153 East 53rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Books

Long before cattle barons appropriated Texas. French-speaking cowboys were running Spanish longhorns on Louisiana ranches.

Much of the Cajuns' singular culture ingers on today, despite the invasion of their backwater over the past 30 years by public roads and private oil entrepreneurs. Gumbo and jambalaya still simer on Cajun stoves and are dished up at local crawfish festivals (Rushton includes recipes for the adventurous). Men like James Dasisy still rise at 3 a.m. to dredge consistent of the control of the cont

In this country, everyone is a cousin of sorts. There are 6,000 Moutons, descendants of a Salvador and Jean Diogène Mouton, whose family tree is more like a woods. And, of course, there is the lazily rounded French patois that holds them all together (and which Rushton might have discussed as a vital ingre-



Ron Guidry

"Laissez les bons temps rouler."

dient of the culture, instead of relegat-

ing it to an appendix). At one point, skimming the Louisiana marshes in a helicopter, Rushton vividly describes the swamp below, floating "like a pad of lilies anchored in place by the most fragile and tenuous of roots." Throughout, he is at his best in this middle distance, giving an overview of Cajun country, past and present. As Rushton indicates, Louisiana's French still manage to remain themselves, despite the bayou ranch houses that look "depressingly like Everywhere Else." A few delightful close-ups, like those of bright-eyed Ambrose Thibodeaux, 74, playing his old French Acadian accordion music, show a culture as slyly pervasive as its cuisine. Hardly a rhythm and blues aficionado lives, for example, who has not spoken Cajun in translation: "Laissez les bons temps rouler"; let the good times roll - Annalyn Swan

Law Firm Follies

THE ASSOCIATES by John Jay Osborn Jr. Houghton Mifflin; 270 pages; \$8.95

Working as an associate at the Wall Street law firm of Bass and Marshall is a curious sort of servitude. The associates are liveried in Brooks Brothers excited a proper service and the minimum wage is \$27,000 a year. If they slave night and day for eight years, they may ascend to partnership and gain the privilege of exploiting other associates. Along the way, their souls are their souls are lost to mean ambition.

A job with a firm like the fictional Bass and Marshall is the reward for successful grade grubbing at a good law school, which John Jay Osborn Jr. wrote about with wit and feeling in his first novel. The Paper Chase. Hart, the hero of that book, "learned to love the law," an ironic expression of Harvard Law School students. He also learned to hate the way law students stabbed each other to succeed at it. In Osborn's new exposé, The Associates, Samuel Weston, fresh from Harvard Law School, shares those passions. In Weston's lofty view, work at Bass and Marshall is grinding, trivial and dehumanizing, especially when it interferes with Sam's love for another associate, Camilla Newman. The attraction, however, is a mystery. Ms. Newman is profane, nasty and thoroughly obsessed by her job. Her few excursions into sex make Last Tango in Paris seem tender. When she dumps Weston to take up with Lawrence, an associate who wants to make partner the way condemned men want to live, it is difficult to grant the hero any sympathy.

n isolated passages of *The Associates*, Osborn conveys a familiarity with softcarpeted power and a fascination with contract law, the translation of human reliance into legal principles. But the officers of Bass and Marshall are little more than caricatures. Their eveballs are forever bulging, and they communicate with associates chiefly by hissing. One partner fancies himself as a sea captain, and enters securities litigation with commands like "Blast them. Send them down in an instant with all hands on board." Cosmo Bass, the formidable autocrat who runs the firm, could have been another Kingsfield, the Paper Chase professor, Unfortunately, Weston never gets to do much more than eat lunch with the old boy and listen to him bombinate about what it was like to be an associate in the '20s (stiff collars, no air conditioning, low pay)

Osborn's real strength is not that of a novelist, but as an entertainer. In one very funny set piece, Littlefield, an associate fond of drugs and arcane legal philosophy, writes a brief for a crucial case that cites Cicero instead of legal precedents. He is fired by Lynch, a partner driven mad by the weight of his famous legal ancestors. The next morning, it is Lynch's turn to perform. In court to argue the case, he opens his mouth, but no words come out, leaving Weston to wonder if the poor wretch is going to make a silent oral argument before the U.S. Court of Appeals.

gument before the U.S. Court of Appeais.
Such seenes may not occur in Wall
Street law firms, but they might make a
movie, perhaps even a high-class, lowNielsen TV show. It is a pity that Osborn
did not find enough that is human about
major league law firms to make his book
something more. Evan Thomas

Editors' Choice

Dubin's Lives, Bernard Malamud Fielder's Choice, edited by Jerome Holtzman • Good as Gold, Joseph Heller • SS-GB, Len Deighton • The Coup, John Updike • The Flounder, Günter Grass

NONFICTION: A Distant Mirror, Barbara W. Tuchman & Albert Camus, Herbert R. Lottman American Caesar, William Manchester & American Singers, Wittney Balliett • In Memory Yet Green, Isaac sikmor • Letter St Green, Isaac sikmor • Valley Ties Being, edited by Sally Fitzgeal Thoughts in a Dry Season, Gerald Reman

Best Sellers

FICTION

- 1. War and Remembrance. Wouk (2
- last week)
- 2. Overload, Hailey (1)
- 3. Chesapeake, Michener (3)
- Evergreen, Plain (6)
 The Sixth Commandment.
- Sanders (9) 6. The Stories of John Cheever.
- 6. The Stories
- Cheever (4)
 7. Dubin's Lives, Malamud
- 8. Second Generation, Fast
- Second Generation, P
 Dress Gray, Truscott
 Fools Die, Puzo

NONFICTION

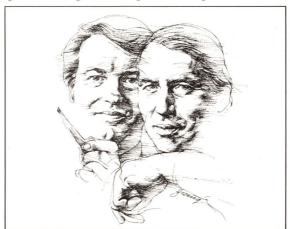
- Lauren Bacall by Myself.
 - Bacall (1)
- The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet, Tarnower & Baker (3)
- 3. Mommie Dearest, Crawford (2)
- American Caesar, Manchester (7)
 Linda Goodman's Love Signs.
- Goodman (4) 6. How to Prosper During the
- Coming Bad Years, Ruff (5)
 7. A Distant Mirror, Tuchman (6)
- 8. Sophia: Living and Loving, A.E. Hotchner
- 9. In Search of History, White (8)
 10. The Complete Book of Running,
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Press

Flying in Magazine Heaven

East/West Network rules the friendly skies of in-flight monthlies

You're strapped into an aisle seat on the 7 a.m. flight from LAX to ORD, and the baby next to you is screaming, and the turbulence is causing your stomach to bathe your just consumed sausage links and hash browns in acid, and you don't know how you're going to get through the next 41/2 hrs. because it's too early for a martini, and besides, you want to throw up. So you reach

for that little paper bag in the seat-back pocket, and, hello! What's this? A slick, thick, technicolor magazine throbbing with lively articles on travel. finance, health, law, politics. You become so engrossed in a piece on the revitalized riverfront in SAT that you don't notice when the left wing

In-flight magazines, those airline-sponsored throwaways, used to be as bland and insubstantial as inflight food. Now they are expensively produced, professionally edited and immensely prosperous. Ten leading airline monthlies last year carried advertising worth \$20 million, or double the amount three years ago

The pilot of those ten gravy planes and the man most responsible for the in-flight magazine industry's takeoff is Jeffrey S. Butler, 39. A onetime Pacific Southwest Airlines public relations director. Butler made a previous contribution to aviation history by outfitting PSA stewardesses in tangerine-colored hot pants. When PSA balked at his How many bananas in the cargo hold? plan to put out an in-flight maga-

zine, he formed East/West Network, Inc. Butler gradually picked up other clients, and today the Los Angeles-based firm publishes magazines for PSA, Allegheny, Continental, Eastern, Hughes Airwest, Ozark, Pan Am, Southern, Texas International and United.* East/West figures that last year a total of 10 million passengers read the magazines each month. Combined revenues were \$20 million, and profits were about \$2 million.

Until East/West came along, in-flight magazines were generally soporific collections of restaurant hosannas, travel columns and self-serving airline news. Says

*Fast/West's main competitor, Webb Co. of St. Paul. "East/West s main competion, Web Co. of St. Paul, produces TWA's Ambassador, Northwest's Passages and Frontier's Frontiers. American, Delta and Na-tional handle their own publications. Butler: "Passengers felt cheated. They'd pick up a story about bananas, but by the third paragraph they'd be reading about how many bananas the airline carried in its cargo hold."

So in 1976, Butler opened an editorial office in New York City and hired

SUNDANCER

Jeffrey S. Butier and some of his products

Fred R. Smith, 53, a longtime editor of SPORTS ILLUSTRATED, to put some quality into East/West, Smith has cut reliance on "destination stories," puff pieces on lo-cales served by client airlines, in favor of more substantial fare: the perils of cosmetic surgery (in PSA's California), the burgeoning world of electronic communications (United's Mainliner), the apocalyptic risks of unloading liquefied gas near urban centers (California). East/West pays writers a relatively modest \$400 to \$600 for a major piece, but can muster more for big names like George Plimpton, Vance Packard and Henry Steele Commager. Lavish color reproductions from coffee-table art books and excerpts from novels such as The Coup by John Updike and Whistle by

James Jones provide cultural ballast. Editor Smith and his 20-member staff produce 800 editorial pages a month, and only East/West's Flightime group (Allegheny, Continental, Ozark and Southern) ever use the same material. Says Smith: "The airlines are as jealous and protective of their magazines as they are of the uniforms on their flight attendants.

East/West currently pays five airlines for the right to publish their magazines (top fee: \$25,000 a month to United). while no money changes hands with the other five. Butler is negotiating new contracts under which all ten airlines

> and its clients can make the skies a little too friendly. The airlines screen virtually every article, exercising veto power when they fear patrons might be offended. One airline nixed an article that advised readers how to avoid using lawyers, in deference to those frequent travelers. The magazines seldom go near the issue of aviation safety. And the airlines dictate what locations to highlight in travel

would receive a percentage of ad

revenue. That filial bond

between East/West

Many articles are pitched to businessmen, and for good reason: more than two-thirds of the readers are managers or professionals, and the median income is better than \$34,000. "The demographics of those passengers up there in the sky are so special, we couldn't buy them down here on the ground," says Butler. The readership is also predominantly male, though the percentage of women air travelers has grown from less than 20% five years ago to 35% today. So East/West this month launched a new quarterly supplement called "Scoops." pages of articles aimed at women

As befits a man of his wealth, Butler conducts business from behind an imposing (5 ft. by 9 ft.) mahogany desk that spent 100 of its 250 years in No. 10 Downing Street. He surrounds himself with expensive antiques and often turns up on international best-dressed lists. His newly acquired 15-room house near Beverly Hills commands an unobstructed view of the San Bernardino Mountains on one side and the Pacific on the other. Says Butler: "My wife is always kidding me that I don't feel comfortable in a house unless the view resembles the one out an airplane window." If Jeffrey Butler had his way, however, airline passengers would be too preoccupied with his products to notice that view.

Press

"Bang Gang"

Armed reporters in Rhodesia

Winston Churchill packed a pistol when he covered the Boer War for London's Morning Post, and it was hardly a farewell to arms when Gun Fancier Ernest Hemingway went off to report the Spanish Civil War for the North American Newspaper Alliance. But to most front-line journalists nowadays, carrying a weapon while on assignment is a grievous offense against professional ethics. It also means forfeiture of a journalist's status under international law as a neutral noncombatant, and it encourages troops to consider all journalists as fair targets.

In the guerrilla war now raging in Rhodesia, however, that convention has been shattered. Many of the 40 or so foreign correspondents who regularly cover the country carry weapons on the job at least some of the time. The journalists are so often armed that visiting colleagues have disdainfully nicknamed them the

"Bang Gang.

Rhodesia's journalistic arms race first came to international attention last year after Freelancer J. Ross Baughman won a Pulitzer Prize for his Associated Press photograph of a suspected Rhodesian guerrilla: it turned out that the photo had earlier been rejected for an Overseas Press Club award, in part because the judges learned that Baughman was armed and wearing a Rhodesian cavalry uniform. Then Richard Valentine Cecil, a British television correspondent and TIME stringer, was killed last April by guerrillas, reportedly while carrying a rifle and accompanying an army detachment. A check by TIME turned up an arsenal of reportorial aids that includes revolvers, small-caliber automatic pistols, automatic rifles and Rhodesianmade submachine guns.

Journalists who have covered other mid-century conflicts might argue that a side arm is not much protection in a rocket attack. But reporters in Rhodesia counter that their war is different: there are no battle lines, no secure areas-and every white man is a guerrilla target. "There is no such thing as a neutral here," says one freelancer. "If you've got a white face, you are the enemy. This is a race war.

Most Rhodesian-based correspondents have either been forbidden by their editors to carry guns, or would be if the home office found out they were doing so. Some reporters prefer to remain unarmed. "If you're captured, having a gun is a death warrant," says the Los Angeles Times's Jack Foisie. But the armed correspondents maintain that such ethical hairsplitting is irrelevant to their workaday peril. Says one: "Anyone who can sit in an editorial chair and demand that reporters ride around the Rhodesian countryside unarmed should come here and try it for himself."

Newswatch/Thomas Griffith

Carter's "Irresponsible" Press

The week in which President Carter has enjoyed his happiest headlines in months is a good time to discuss his feelings about the press, which might otherwise seem to be merely sour grapes. The fact is that Carter thinks the press is ir-

If this comes as news, it also says something about Jimmy Carter. At the close of a little-remarked-upon television interview last November, he told Public Broadcasting's Bill Moyers that his two most "unpleasant surprises" in office had been the inertia of Congress and the irresponsibility of the press. When asked by Moyers for particulars, Carter said, "Well, quite often news reports have been inaccurate when I think a simple checking of the facts could have prevented a serious distortion of the news." He also found "a sense of doubt or even cynicism about the Government ... brought about I'm sure" by the press's having been deceived over Viet Nam, Watergate and the CIA. As for inaccuracy, "I think a lot of that was caused by my relative inaccessibility . I think that we've made some progress." Time was up; a strong accusation had been made but only softly documented. Was this-like Eisenhower's remark about the military-industrial complex—an unexpected, out-of-character presidential comment, to be made once and then dropped?

No. The sense of press irresponsibility persists. You can hear it authoritatively from Jerry Rafshoon, the Atlanta advertising man and old friend whom Carter brought in to refurbish the President's image. "We expected the press to give more attention to issues, to be better informed," he complains. Back in 1976 Carter had said to Playboy: "The traveling press have zero interest in any issue unless it's a matter of making a mistake. What they're looking for is a 47-second argument between me and another candidate or something like that. There's nobody in the back of this plane who would ask an issue question unless he thought he could trick me into some crazy statement. Now Rafshoon complains about the "minute and 45 seconds" treatment of any issue on nightly TV newscasts, usually dramatized by Gerald Rafshoon some head-to-head conflict. Rafshoon scorn-



fully dismisses these as "process stories," not really what's going on.
"To Rafshoon" has become a Washington verb for image gilding; yet, it is hard to quarrel with an Administration attempt to get its act together and speak with one voice. Carter's problem has been more acute than most, since he for so long naively or generously let people like U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young and now deposed White House Aide Midge Costanza pop off at will. That's changing. Last month Carter angrily told a closed-door State Department meeting to quit talking to the press about sensitive policy matters. The usually cool Press Secretary Jody Powell has denounced the New York Times for 'arrogance" and for being "absurd" and "ridiculous" in suggesting policy differences between National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Yet, in blessed contrast to the Nixon era's constant animus toward the press and bugging of reportorial phones, Rafshoon regards leaks as "not the press's fault," but the Administration's own problem. He particularly resents leaks by middle-level bureaucrats who try to influence policy without being up on the latest developments, so that the later correct story never catches up with the first.

On the whole, the press corps seems to regard the Carter Administration with sympathy but disappointment, much as the country does, though with a more close-in awareness of Administration amateurishness, insensitivities and gaffes. In an abrasive job, Press Secretary Powell, folksy and disorganized, often has to stonewall, but he gets generally high marks for knowing the President's mind and playing square. Other Presidents before Carter have criticized the press for personifying and trivializing issues; that the charge is familiar makes it no less true. Still, the Middle East settlement emphasizes how much weight is deservedly given, by Sadat, Begin and Carter themselves, as well as by the press, not just to the substance of policy but also to the fact of conflict, the uses

of drama and the impact of personality.



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ELISABETH KÜBLER-ROSS, M.D.

When All Our Fears Come True

How a family reacts to a

terminal illness.

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amily members undergo different stages of adjustment similar to (those of) our patients. At first many of them cannot believe that it is true. They may deny the fact that there is such an illness in the family or "shop around" from doctor to doctor in the vain hope of hearing that this was the wrong diagnosis . . . They may arrange for expensive trips to famous clinics and physicians and only gradually face up to the reality which may change their life so drastically. Greatly dependent on the patient's attitude, awareness, and ability to communicate, the family then undergoes certain changes. If they are able to share their common concerns, they can take care of certain important matters early and under less pressure of time and emotions. If each one tries to keep a secret from the other, they will keep an artificial barrier between them which will make it difficult for any preparatory grief for the patient or his family. The end result will be much more dramatic than for those who can talk and cry together at times.

Just as the patient goes through a stage of anger, the immediate family will experience the same emotional reaction. They will be angry alternately with the doctor who examined the patient first and did not come forth with the diagnosis and the doctor who confronted them with the sad reality. They may project their rage to the hospital personnel who never care enough, no matter how efficient the care is in reality. There is a great deal of envy in this reaction, as family members often feel cheated at not being able or allowed to be with the patient and to care for him. There is also much guilt and a wish to make up for missed past opportunities. The more we can help the relative to



fore the death of a loved one, the more comfortable the family will be.

When anger, resentment, and guilt can be worked through, the family will then go through a phase of preparatory grief, just as the dying person does. The more this grief can be expressed before death, the less unbearable it becomes afterward. We often hear relatives say proudly of themselves that they always tried to keep a smiling face when confronted with the patient, until one day they just could not keep that facade any longer. Little do they realize that genuine emotions on the part of a member of the family are much easier to take than a make-believe mask which the patient can see through anyway and which means to him a disguise rather than a sharing of a sad situation.

If members of a family can share these emotions together, they will gradually face the reality of impending separation and will come to an acceptance of it together. The most heartbreaking time, perhaps, for the family is the final phase, when the patient is slowly detaching himself from his world, including his family. They do not understand that a dving man who has found peace and acceptance in his death will have to separate himself, step by step, from his environment, including his most loved ones. . . . When the patient asks to be visited only by a few more friends, then by his children and finally only by his wife, it should be understood that this is the way of separating himself gradually.

Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, M.D.

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